

Errors and Corrections: Early Modern English Errata Lists in 1529–1700  
and Their Connection to Prescriptivism

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This thesis concentrates on early modern English (ca. 1500–1700) errata lists and prescriptivism. Errata lists refer to lists of corrections to a specific printed book or document. Early modern errata lists were used to corrected errors that were noticed after the printing of a book was completed. The second major theme besides errata lists is linguistic prescriptivism, which refers to an ideology which requires something to be said or written the correct way.

The aim of this thesis is to study the characteristics of the early modern errata lists and to determine whether there is a connection between the errata lists and prescriptivism, that is, do the errata lists display prescriptivism. The material of this study consists of 80 English language books and their errata lists from 1529 to 1700, ten from every 25 years. From this material, seven different aspects were studied in order to determine some characteristics of the errata lists and their connection to prescriptivism: 1) the variety of books with errata lists, 2) the physical placement, 3) the headings and 4) the layout of the errata lists, 5) the average frequency of errors in the books, 6) types of individual errors, as well as 7) types of prescriptive corrections.

The inspection of these aspects revealed that errata lists are a heterogenous group that still share some common characteristics. The errata lists appear in various different kinds of works but are located either in the front or back matter of the book. The back matter was the most common location for the errata lists in every studied year, except in 1700. The errata lists exhibit two common patterns of headings, *Errata* and *Faults escaped* out of which the latter was more common between 1529 and 1600, but disappears from use after 1600 in this data. The errata lists can also be categorised by their layouts into horizontal lists, vertical lists and tables. Overall, the horizontal list layout was the most common, and after the year 1600, vertical lists disappear and tables become less common. The frequency of errors in the books varied greatly from 0.01 to 1.07 errors per page, on average. The errors in the errata lists were grouped into four classes, *omission*, *addition*, *substitution* and *transposition*, based on whether the changes appeared in character level, word level or above word level. The inspection of prescriptive corrections revealed two types of corrections that could be said to be prescriptive: corrections to orthography and grammar. This inspection supported the idea of errata lists being prescriptive. Since errata lists are a way to rectify errors, one of the purposes of them can be said to be similar to other prescriptive works that want to promote a certain kind of language use. This thesis provides a basis for future research on errata lists, as they have not been systematically studied yet.

Keywords: early modern English, errata, prescriptivism, printing press

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# 1 Introduction

Errors, spelling mistakes, typos or, whatever one wants to call the various faults related to the process of writing, are an everyday matter for most people writing or otherwise working with written language. Typos may creep in and escape proofreading and spell checkers, no matter how carefully one tries to write. Today, we face errors on a daily basis but think of them only as a necessary evil causing inconvenience and irritation. Errors in writing, however, are not only a modern issue, but date back to the times when writing systems evolved. The history of the early book is filled with error as well as notions on how to correct them: ever since the invention of the printing press, authors and printers have struggled with errors and misprints. And ever since authors and printers have acknowledged the possibility of error, correct and incorrect use of language has been a matter of interest. This is closely connected to prescriptivism, or the attempt of laying down rules on proper and improper language use. This thesis seeks to examine the early book and its errors as well as their connection to prescriptivism through studying early modern English errata lists.

*Errata list* refers to a list of corrections to a document. The early modern list of corrections does not seem to have an established term in academic literature, as it has been called *errata list* (e.g. Blair 2007), *errata sheet* (e.g. Lerer 2002) or plainly *errata* (e.g. Eisenstein 1979). All the terms are very close if not identical in meaning but for the sake of clarity, *errata list* was chosen to be the term that is henceforth used consistently when referring to the list of corrections. Errata lists are a way to rectify any errors noticed after printing, although in modern publishing culture, simple misprints are corrected in later printing whereas additions or revisions of text wait for later editions (*The Chicago Manual of Style* 2003, 34). However, in the early modern period (ca. 1500–1700), when the printing process was more time-consuming and expensive, the errata list became a common way to correct mistakes noticed after the printing process was complete (Blair 2007, 21–22).

Errata lists served as guides for reading, and readers were often encouraged to correct the mistakes in their own copies (Blair 2007, 36). Often the early modern errata lists recorded simple misprints, such as missing or extra letters, but sometimes the errata lists could provide corrections to larger units, such as headings, or offer corrections to font choice (Blair 2007, 30; Lerer 2003, 44). The appearance of

the errata list may vary, but the errors are often listed together with their corrections and the information on how to locate them in the book.

The errata lists function alongside other paratexts, or the material in the book that does not belong to the body of the text, such as the table of contents or the preface. Paratexts and material features of the book are a valuable source of information on book and print culture. Changes in the different copies of an edition or even inside one copy, for instance in typesetting, or the composition of text, have a textual-critical value. Errata lists can help the identification of changes or textual variants which in turn can help the understanding of the creation and transmission of texts and, as Lerer notes, reveal a book's relationship to the textual traditions of a different work (2002, 19).

In addition to errata lists, this thesis concentrates on *linguistic prescriptivism*, which refers to the ideology concerning language use that requires something to be said or written the 'right' way (Milroy and Milroy 1999, 1). Prescriptivism can be, perhaps, best understood by an analogy to other behaviour than language use, such as etiquette. In a specific culture and specific time, formal dinner guests may be required to behave in certain ways that accord with the contemporary conventional norms. For example, the guests may feel obliged to use the cutlery in a specific manner or placing the table napkin in their lap as opposed to somewhere else. These requirements are *prescriptive* in that they are imposed from above, by the society or culture, and they are arbitrary in the sense that the requirements are tied to cultural norms at a certain time and place. Appropriate and inappropriate behaviour, as well as language use, can change over time so that what once was considered inappropriate would later be considered appropriate and vice versa.

In relation to language, prescriptive practises may address many aspects, such as spelling, grammar or pronunciation. Prescriptivism is an important sociolinguistic phenomenon, and its presence is clearly visible in the everyday life of people who want to maintain and improve their social status through language use. People turn to dictionaries and guidebooks for help in 'correct' use of language and 'self-improvement' (Beal 2008, 36). Shame and respect are key concepts in these guide-books. As English has no official language authority, it has been the grammar writers who have codified the rules in their grammars and handbooks of usage. Prescriptive handbooks have been popular throughout the history of English, and of course elsewhere as well, even until today (Beal 2004, 116).

In recent historical research, prescriptivism has been studied as a phenomenon related to the social needs of certain language users as well as to the ongoing process of language standardisation. Traditionally the eighteenth century has been regarded as the golden age of prescriptivism and the “landmark period in the top-down standardisation of English” (Auer 2006, 33). This was the time when English grammarians and other language theoreticians actively tried to influence the process of creating a prestige variety of the language (ibid.). This created a social need to speak and behave in a correct manner, which, in turn, gave rise to the various linguistic as well as other self-help guides. “[M]atters of correctness, propriety, aestheticism and moral delicacy were uppermost in the minds of intellectuals concerned with language” (Watts 2002, 158), setting the tone for social climbers who wished to acquire these attributes of polite society with the help of self-help guides. The self-help guide authors, grammarians, dictionary compilers, elocutionists and so on are an important aspect of a larger ideological discourse of standardisation (Watts 2002, 158). The social function of prescriptivism is thus closely connected to the process of standardisation.

Recent decades have witnessed a rising interest in linguistic prescriptivism, as the ideology of standard has generated numerous studies. Standard English and its origins, together with the various eighteenth-century prescriptive grammar books have been the subjects of an increasing amount of academic literature (see e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1994; Görlach 2001; Auer 2006). The errata lists, on the other hand, have been much neglected in the academic world. The material features of books and the other elements beside the body of the text, or the *book* rather than the *text*, have become increasingly popular among researchers. The material aspects of book previously considered insignificant and inferior have helped to understand the roles of authors, editors and printers in the process of producing books, as well as the actual use of books in different context and the readers of the book. Errata lists and other methods of correction have begun to be included in these kinds of studies, though systematic research on correction and errata lists is yet to be conducted.

The main aim of this thesis is to determine the characteristics of early modern English errata lists, since, to date, errata lists have not been thoroughly studied. This thesis also seeks to examine the connection between prescriptivism and errata lists, as errata lists are a form of correction and possibly relate to standardisation and



normative language use which have been prevalent in the early modern period, after the inventing of the printing press. Prescriptivism has usually been associated with the late modern English period (ca. 1700–1900) and grammar writing, but this does not mean that prescriptivism does not appear in other times and contexts. In this thesis, the fundamental research on early modern errata lists is centred around seven aspects that are studied from the material:

- 1) The variety of books that included an errata list.
- 2) The physical placement of the errata list in books.
- 3) The headings of the errata lists.
- 4) The layout of the errata list and how the errors and their corrections are presented.
- 5) The average frequency of errors in the books, that is the number of errors in the errata lists compared against the number of pages in the book.
- 6) Types of individual errors in the errata lists
- 7) Types of prescriptive corrections in the errata lists.

These aspects are related to the physical structure and appearance of the errata lists as well as their relationship to the book in which they appear. The last aspect concentrates on the framework of prescriptivism and approaches the issue through studying selected errors and their corrections to determine whether errata lists can be argued to express prescriptivism. In relation to the first five aspects, change over time is also an object of study.

The material for the present study consists of English language errata lists from the early modern period. Altogether 80 errata lists from 1529 to 1700, ten errata lists from roughly every 25 years, were gathered from the *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) database which is an online collection of early printed works. The time frame is connected to the emergence of errata lists and the coverage of EEBO: errata lists start to appear in English books in the early sixteenth century (Lerer 2002, 22), and 1700 is the last year that is officially covered in EEBO. The books in which the errata lists appear represent a variety of works with different subject areas and lengths. The errata lists themselves also display a variety of different features. The study was primarily conducted through qualitative close reading, although quantitative elements

were added to the analysis of the first five aspects in order to detect change in the course of time.

The overall structure of this thesis takes the form of six chapters that focus on errata lists and prescriptivism. Chapter 2 begins by introducing previous research on errata lists and continues then to discuss the concept, history and characteristics of the early modern errata list, addressing also the relationship between authors and readers of the errata list. Chapter 3 examines linguistic prescriptivism in detail, beginning with an overview of studies related to prescriptivism, and continuing then to the definition of prescriptivism as well as discussion about its relation to descriptivism. The history of prescriptivism and its relation to standardisation are also discussed. Chapter 4 begins by introducing the database from which the data are collected and continues then to address the data itself as well as the methods used in collecting and analysing the data. Chapter 5 concentrates on analysing the seven aspects from the data together with a discussion of each aspect. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes this thesis by summarising the most important results as well as commenting on future research.

## **2 Form and Function of the Early Modern Errata List**

This chapter discusses the rather unfamiliar concept of *errata list*, especially in relation to the early modern period. First, this section attempts to provide a brief summary of the literature relating to material features of the book and errata lists in particular. After that, section 2.1 begins by defining terminology and the key concepts within and around the errata list. Next, section 2.2 examines the history and characteristics of the early modern errata list in more detail. Section 2.3 concentrates on errors and their production methods. Section 2.4 concludes this chapter with a discussion on the relationship between the authors and the readers of errata lists.

In recent years, scholars have increasingly turned their attention to the material features of the book. The attention has shifted from the meanings and significance of the book as a text to the significance and meanings conveyed by the book as an object, and the paratexts accompanying the text (see e.g. Corns 2000; Stallybrass 2002; Lerer 2003 and Sherman 2011). These kinds of studies on the material make-up of the text have begun to include studies on errata lists, often as a

paratext (the material in the book that is not part of the main narrative; for more information on paratexts, see Genette 1997). However, the errata list as an object of research has faced scholarly neglect, and no detailed and systematic studies have been conducted yet. So far, errata lists have often been discussed in reference to print culture and practices on error corrections in general (see e.g. Simpson 1970; McKitterick 2003, 97–138), or used in editing texts to determine the ideal state of an edition (e.g. Bühler 1962). Nevertheless, some research has been conducted specifically on errata lists.

For instance, Blair (2007) has carried out a brief study on authorial agency in printed errata lists, together with the significance of manuscript corrections by readers. Blair studied errata lists primarily in sixteenth-century books, arguing for the authorial agency of the printers and authors in the appearance of the errata list, as it was their last attempt to control the reception of the book. Blair also studied readers' engagement with text and its errors by examining the annotations, most often corrections, that were hand-written by the early modern readers in their copies. Blair's research is significant for the present study in that it concentrates solely on errata lists and corrections, providing thus an important view on early modern errata lists. In addition to Blair, Lerer (2002, 15–54) also addresses errata lists in his study of the rhetoric of error and editorship. In his study on errata lists, Lerer argues that errata lists become places where acknowledgment of mistakes and acts of emendation establish intellectual authority among the early modern humanist authors. Lerer (2002, 21) also mentions an Italian scholar, Paolo Trovato, who has studied the ways in which errata lists were used in Italian books in his 1991 book *Con ogni diligenza corretto: La stampa e le revisioni editoriali dei testi letterari italiani (1470–1570)*.

## 2.1 Defining Errata List

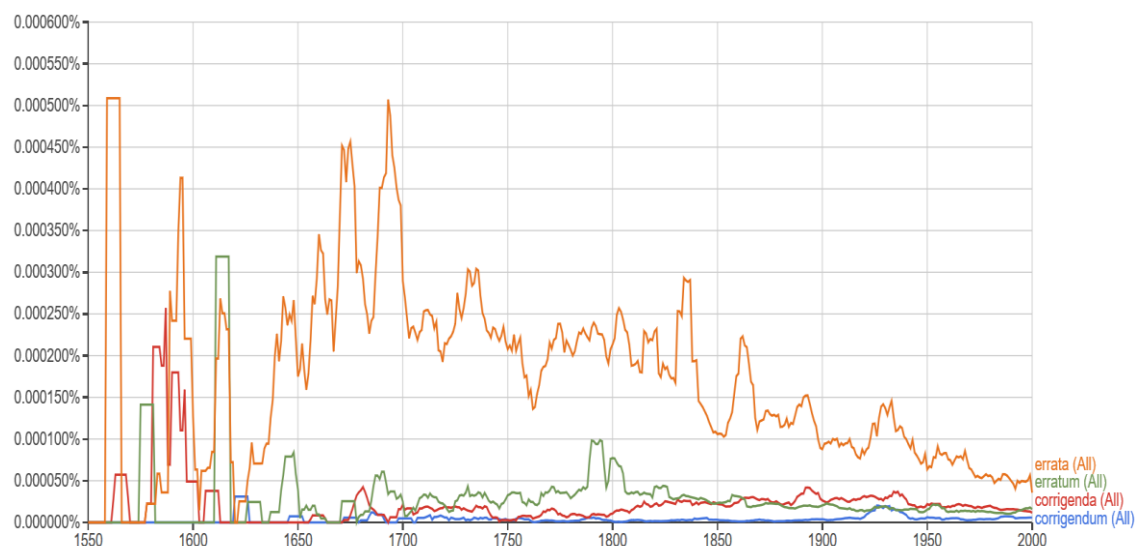
*Erratum* and *corrigendum* (from Latin verbs *errō* 'to err' and *corrigō* 'to correct') both refer to a correction to a document, and the terms are closely related to print culture. Though close in meaning, in modern scientific publishing culture the term *erratum* refers to the errors introduced during the publishing process while a *corrigendum* lists errors by the author (Nature publishing group 2018). The *Oxford English Dictionary*, however, does not distinguish these terms but provides a very similar definition for both: *erratum* – “an error noted in a list of corrections attached to a printed book” (s.v.

“erratum,” n.) and corrigendum – “errors or faults in a printed book [...] of which the corrections are given” (s.v. “corrigendum,” n.). For the purpose of this thesis, it is not reasonable to distinguish erratum and corrigendum. This thesis concentrates on the early modern period, circa 1500–1700, and the term *erratum*, or most often the plural form *errata*, was used in a slightly different sense in the early modern context than today. Modern printing and publishing practices differ greatly from the early modern practices, and the term *errata* was used to describe a list of corrections attached to a printed book, covering both the modern senses of erratum and corrigendum.

The terms *erratum* (pl. *errata*) and *corrigendum* (pl. *corrigenda*) all refer to a list of corrections attached to a printed book. However, a simple query with the Google Books Ngram Viewer<sup>1</sup> reveals (see Figure 1) that the term *errata* has been used more widely throughout the early modern and modern periods. The Google Books Ngram Viewer (<https://books.google.com/ngrams>) is an online search engine that records frequencies of any set of strings. The program allows queries from over five million digitized books from 1500–2008 in Google’s text corpora in a variety of languages, using a yearly count of n-grams (Michel et al. 2011, 176). An *n-gram* is a sequence of *n* adjacent items, for example letters or words. An n-gram of size 1 (unigram), is thus a sequence of one item, and a 2-gram (bigram) is a sequence of two items. The query illustrated in Figure 1 below consists of four unigrams: ‘errata,’ ‘erratum,’ ‘corrigendum’ and ‘corrigenda.’

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<sup>1</sup> Using Google Books’ corpora, one needs to be aware of factors that might affect the results, such as problems with optical character recognition and the changing composition of the corpora (for example, the British English corpus is a mixture of fiction, non-fiction, scientific literature etc., and the proportions of different genres have changed over time). However, these possible biases are not relevant when interested in the general direction of the use of ‘corrigendum,’ ‘corrigenda,’ ‘erratum’ and ‘errata.’



**Figure 1** Google Books Ngram Viewer – query for the words ‘corrigendum,’ ‘corrigenda,’ ‘erratum’ and ‘errata’ in 1550–2000, from the corpus of British English, with smoothing of 3<sup>2</sup>.

As can be seen from Figure 1, ‘corrigendum’ and ‘corrigenda’, together with ‘erratum’ appear less frequently than ‘errata’ in the corpus of British English texts. The y-axis shows the percentage of the query term from all of the unigrams contained in the corpus of British English. The early decades are comprised by only a few books per year while by 2000, the number of books had increased to 11 million (Michel et al. 2011, 176). This creates an illusion, as can be seen from Figure 1, that the query word ‘errata’ would have occurred in some early years more often than in the twentieth century. However, this is only due to the rareness of publications in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to which the term appears to have been included often in published works, even though the term may appear in only few books. To ensure comparability, results are normalised by the number of books published in each year (Google 2013), but the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the chart are not as suitable for comparison as the rest. As can be seen from Figure 1, the general direction of the relative use of the word ‘errata’ has been descending. In the early modern period, ‘errata’ seems to have been in use relatively often, meaning that it was a common part of books. Nowadays, as Figure 1 illustrates, the word ‘errata’ does not appear in books as often.

<sup>2</sup> Smoothing averages out values in the graph. Smoothing of 3 averages the target value and three values on either side of it.

Another matter in relation to the terminology around errata lists that deserves discussion is the phrase ‘faults escaped in printing’. In the early modern period, the word ‘fault’ could be used to denote error or mistake, especially clerical error or misprint (*OED*, s.v. “fault,” n.). The word ‘escape,’ then, could refer to something that had eluded the notice of someone. Thus the phrase ‘faults escaped,’ or a similar version of it was used to denote misprints that had eluded the printer’s notice, in other words, the errata. Due to the spelling variation in the early modern print culture, the phrase ‘faults escaped’ could vary to some extent. The phrase ‘faults escaped’ and the word ‘errata’ are further discussed in 5.3 in reference to the headings of the studied errata lists.

## **2.2 History and Characteristics of the Errata List**

To the modern reader, the practice of including an errata list may seem unfamiliar, as it is not commonly used anymore. *The Chicago Manual of Style* deems the errata list as “definitely not a usual part of a book,” and concludes that the errata list should never be used for correcting simple typographical errors (*The Chicago Manual of Style* 2003, 34). Errors severe enough to cause misunderstandings are usually detected early enough to be corrected before publishing, making errata lists redundant. Nevertheless, errata lists are still used today. Most modern readers have come across typographical errors and other minor mistakes in printed text, but these kinds of errors are often rectified in later editions. To the early modern reader, however, the errata lists recording typographical and other errors came to be a norm from the sixteenth century onwards. The earliest errata lists are found in books published on continental Europe, notably in Italy, in the late fifteenth century (Richardson 1994, 45). According to Lerer (2002, 22), the earliest connection to errata lists in English books can be found in Thomas More’s doctrinal texts published in the 1520s and 1530s.

Starting from the early sixteenth century, errata lists became one of the most common methods of correcting errors that were noticed after the printing was already finished (Blair 2007, 21–22). The early modern procedure of hand-press printing consisted of three stages of which Hunter (2007, 26–27) provides a brief description: First, the individual types that comprised of reverse images of letters or symbols were composed together line by line so that they formed a reversed image of the text. Depending on the size of the page and the used paper, several pages could be

printed on a single sheet of paper. Next, after the pages that were going to be printed on a single sheet were composed, they were arranged to a heavy metal frame, *chase*, that held everything together. Last, the types were inked and printed on paper. Although normally a proof was printed and examined before the actual printing begun, it was common to make additional modifications as the printing was in progress – a common practise called *stop-press correction*, which required stopping the press and adjusting the chase and its types before continuing the print (Hunter 2007, 28). This kind of correction could happen multiple times during the printing process, and it meant that the copies of one sheet would have different readings before and after the stop-press correction was made (ibid.).

In addition to errata lists, other alterations done after the printing was complete include, for example, *cancelling* a leaf, that is, cutting out a leaf and replacing it with a correct substitute, or pasting in corrections on slips of paper (Hunter 2007, 28). Pasting slips of paper containing the correct text over the wrong part was rarely performed in practice. According to Simpson (1970, 19, 25), however, this error correction method was a tradition, as was the method of correcting errors by hand. Hand-correction was not practiced often, but when a perfect copy was required, this laborious method was the last resort. All these modes of correction were characteristic practices in printed book production of the time.

Sherman (2011, 75) claims that the errata is usually situated at the end of the book, almost always following the final ‘Finis’, a typical ending phrase. Richardson also notes that errata lists were commonly found at the ends of books (1994, 24–25). Blair (2007, 27) agrees, though according to her, the errata can occasionally be found at the end of the front matter, (all the material before the actual content), and therefore near the beginning or in middle of the text, depending on the length of the front matter and the volume. The placement of errata lists and the possible changes in the preferred placement will be discussed further in the analysis and discussion section of this study in 5.3.

Blair (2007, 31–32) classifies errata lists into two groups: the *exhaustive list* and the *general apology* with or without a short list of errors. The exhaustive errata list includes all types of errors, though mostly minor and easily recognizable. Blair mentions Erasmus of Rotterdam as a central example whose works included densely packed lists of errata that came to be a norm followed in other learned works. The Froben 1523 edition of Erasmus’s *Adages*, as Blair notes, includes an errata list of 1.5

pages that lists the correct word by page and line number at the rate of 3 to 4 errors per line. Thus, for the 800 pages of print, the errata list includes 350–400 errors. Blair's other category of general apology is a quicker alternative that offers an apology for possible errors in printing and a request for the reader to correct minor mistakes in their own copies, occasionally with a short list of more major errors (2007, 32). Below, further examples of the exhaustive list and general apology follow in Figures 2 and 3 respectively.

Figure 2 offers an example of an exhaustive list of errors from a 1499 Venetian book *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. The errata list in the volume is long and precise, listing many kinds of errors and their corrections. The errors are listed one after another in a continuous manner. In order to locate each error, the gathering sign (a, b et cetera), leaf number, side of the leaf and line number are given. These are in turn followed by first the error and then the correct reading. Figure 3 provides an example of a general apology from Richard Baxter's *Pneumatou diakonia* from 1682. The apology is located below the title and above the list of errors. Baxter's errata list includes a short list of mistakes that could affect the reading of the book. Other minor mistakes are left to the reader to correct themselves. Baxter's book consists of 120 pages of text, but the errata list is brief. The errors in Baxter's errata list are listed similarly to the errata list in Figure 2. The location of the error is indicated by page and line number, together with the correct reading. The general apology reduces the need for a list of errors, as minor errors can be ignored, relying on the reader to understand and correct the errors. Blair's classification of errata lists is further addressed in relation to the material of the present study in section 5.5. Having addressed the history of the errata list as well as some of its characteristics, the next sections of this chapter will address error types and their production, as well as the errata list in relation to its authors and readers.



Li errori del libro. facti stampando, liquali corrige così.

Quaderno a Charta. 3. fazata pria. linea secundane fa nel, fazata seconda linea. 18. diffuso. fa diffuso ch. 5. f. 1. 26. dilectione fa delectatione. Quaderno b ch. 6. f. 5. l. 34. limata. fa liniata. Quaderno c ch. 2. f. 1. 20. loquace. fa nò loquace. f. 5. l. 2. liberamēto. fa libramēto. l. 19. prēmīnētia fa prōminētia. c. 3. f. 1. 11. laltro. fa laltro. f. 5. l. 5. edihitio. fa edificio. ch. 4. f. 1. 31. in imo. fa i minimo. ch. 5. f. 1. 35. nexuli fa Nextuli. f. 5. l. 28. decunati. fa decimati. ch. 6. f. 1. 4. coniecturia. fa cōiecturai. l. 5. prime fa pinne. ch. 7. f. 1. 5. inuistata. fa inuistata. l. 10. incinnato. fa uicinato. Quaderno d. ch. 4. f. 1. 12. Et quanta. fa Et di quanta. ch. 11. f. 5. l. 3. hippotanii. fa hippopotami. ch. 3. f. 1. 31. trepente. fa repente. l. 33. uerucofo. fa uerucofo. f. 5. l. 8. Solitame te. fa solicitamente. ch. 4. f. 1. 10. asinato. fa afinato. l. 27. ferra. fa ferra. f. 5. l. 34. mortali fa mortui. ch. 5. f. 1. 1. forma. fa ferma. l. 5. aderia. fa adoria. l. 16. Incitamente. fa incitamentente. ch. 6. f. 5. l. 25. & poscia & quella antiqua. fa. postica & quella antica. ch. 7. f. 1. 14. cunto. fa cuneo. f. 5. l. 21. certamente. fa certatamente. l. 24. benigna patria di gente. fa benigna patria ma di gente. ch. 8. f. 5. l. 1. le coxe. fa le coxe. l. 4. stristi petali. fa stristi petioli. l. 12. irricature. fa irricature. Quaderno e ch. 2. f. 1. 4. aretrorso. fa antrorso. ch. 3. f. 5. l. 24. asede. fa assole. ch. 6. f. 1. 36. era. fa Hera. ch. 2. f. 5. l. 7. arurini. fa azzurini. Quaderno f ch. 4. f. 1. 1. prestamente. fa prestantamente. ch. 7. f. 1. 1. ultima. angusta fa augusta. ch. 8. f. 1. 33. politulatamente. fa politulamente. f. 5. l. 24. succedeterno. fa succedeteno. Quaderno g ch. 3. f. 1. 7. fori. fa fora. ch. 6. f. 5. l. 30. tuti recolecti & inde asportati. manca & fa così tuti recolecti & tuti gli analecti ide asportati. ch. 7. f. 5. l. 21. Vireti. fa Vireti. ch. 8. f. 5. l. 11. uiffione. fa iuffione. Quaderno h. ch. 3. f. 1. 17. α. fa. α. l. 37. conduce. fa conducono. ch. 4. f. 5. l. 36. Lamulatione. fa lamutilatione. ch. 5. f. 5. l. 12. fatiloquia. fa fatiloquia. ch. 6. f. 5. l. 8. confabulamen. fa confabulamento. l. 12. mcrebbe. fa rincrebbe. l. 15. che e uno elephanto. fa che e uno. Quaderno i ch. 4. f. 1. 8. dixe. ne. fa di Sene. f. 5. l. 9. uoluprate pro uoluprate. c. 4. f. 5. l. 4. tessure. p texuro. ch. 5. f. 1. 18. di feta. pro defoto. ch. 7. f. 1. 7. mortali. pro mortale. f. 5. l. 31. fauilla. p scintilla. Quaderno K ch. 3. f. 1. 1. carollette. pro parollette. ch. 11. f. 1. 4. uditante. p uolitante. f. 5. l. 4. fractura. pro factura. ch. 3. f. 1. 1. fa cōgrumati haueano. cum exquisiti tormētuli tripharia insieme. & di uoluptica textura inodulati. Altre diffusamente le instabile. l. 27. ferice. pro fericei. l. 33. o uero. pro o uero. f. 5. l. 13. uale sforza pro uale se sforza. ch. 6. f. 1. 7. longo. pro longe. QVaderno l ch. 3. f. 1. 1. di feta. p defoto. l. 15. laducitate pro laducitate. f. 5. l. 8. nū. p nō. l. 19. cū. pro cū. ch. 4. f. 1. 25. si. pro. in. f. 5. l. 8. lune. p lume. l. 17. ornata. pro ornato. ch. 6. f. 5. l. 33. Colūmna. p Colūba Quaderno m ch. 6. f. 5. l. 8. miratione. pro ruratiōe. Quaderno n ch. 1. f. 1. 12. fosoria adallo. pro fusoria dalo. ch. 2. f. 5. l. 1. ultima restitudine. pro restitudine. ch. 6. f. 5. l. 16. Di quelle. pro Di que. le. l. 32. inuista. pro iuisa. Quaderno o ch. 4. f. 1. 1. di numero. pro di numero. ch. 6. f. 1. 11. nelamino. pro nelanimo. Quaderno p ch. 3. f. 1. 33. certamēte. pro certatamente. ch. 5. f. 5. l. 4. & miarchitatrice. pro mia architatrice. ch. 7. f. 1. 6. triumphale. manca Tropheo Quaderno q ch. 1. f. 5. l. 19. laquale. pro leque. ch. 3. nel epitaphio. l. 3. ella fa PVELLA. l. 6. germinoe. p germi naua. l. 5. nello epitaphio. l. 3. LAGVOREM. pro languorem. l. 14. tamo. pro Tano. ch. 4. f. 1. 2. Dēdrocyfo. f. 5. l. 36. laefure. p le Sure. l. 359. Area. pro Arca. c. 5. f. 5. nel epitaphio. NEDT. p NEPT. ch. 6. f. 1. 7. torque. pro torque. l. 10. delinino. pro delifimo. l. 31. auoguali superfluo. ch. 7. f. 1. 6. riseruati. manca. uidi. ch. 8. nello epitaphio. l. 42. culpa. pro culpa. l. 13. aethernū. p. eterno. Quaderno r ch. 3. f. 5. l. 8. o uero. pro oue. ch. 5. l. 16. fractici. pro fractici. ch. 7. f. 5. l. 14. consulamēto. pro consabulamento. ch. 8. f. 5. l. 12. & daposcia. manca. La. Quaderno s ch. 3. f. 1. 1. ulti. tinge. pro trige. ch. 7. f. 5. l. 9. & il suo. pro & dil suo. Quaderno t ch. 4. f. 5. l. 8. pulluarie. pro pullarie. ch. 5. f. 1. 7. limarii. pro lunarii. ch. 7. f. 1. 12. citrino. pro citimo. ch. 8. f. 5. l. 35. cimiadeo. pro Cimiadon. Quaderno u ch. 11. f. 1. 29. pergutto. pro pergutato. ch. 7. f. 5. l. 4. in hasta. pro in haste. Quaderno x ch. 11. f. 1. 35. depilo. p depilo. ch. 6. f. 1. 31. Tribaba. pro Tribada. ch. 7. f. 1. 1. 39. Cosmodea. pro cosmoclea. ch. 8. f. 1. 12. Syrimati. pro Syrmati. Quaderno y ch. 11. f. 1. 16. daedalifatti. p daedale facti. f. 5. l. 8. capopro capto. ch. 3. f. 5. l. 24. calice. pro calce. ch. 6. f. 1. 12. ioui. pro Loui. ch. 7. f. 1. 5. continua. pro continua. f. 5. l. 10. Vrotiothia. pro Vranothia. ch. 8. f. 5. l. 35. Cōexo. pro Cōuxo. Quaderno z ch. 1. f. 5. l. 3. muscho. pro mosco. ch. 3. f. 1. 19. ferimo. pro firmo. f. 5. l. 37. Carinatione. p Caruatione. ch. 5. f. 1. 1. Ornate. pro ornato. l. 11. Arfacis. pro Arfacida. l. 11. uerna. pro uernea. f. 5. l. 13. excedente. pro excedeuano. prope. io. uacat. l. 17. aptissima. pro aptissime. l. 35. mirando. pro uario. ch. 6. f. 1. 31. cōpecto. pro conspecto. l. 11. diafre. pro dediafre. di. uacat. ch. 8. f. 5. l. 27. securofo. p si curioso. l. 37. picto. pro pecto. l. 11. ultima. appropriauano. p approbauano QVaderno A ch. 2. f. 5. l. 22. Melinia. pro Melmia. l. 35. perimorida. pro per iucunda. l. 26. truncato. pro truncato. ch. 3. f. 5. l. 14. manca dapo. Comente gli pectinaua. Dindi a caso passando allhora Poliphilo. ch. 5. f. 1. 7. Com mossa. p comosa. ch. 7. f. 1. 15. dispumale. pro despua Lecanescēte. l. 6. petrace. p petrace. Quaderno B ch. 5. f. 1. 32. Saporoso. Pro Soporoso. l. 36. fere. pro. fere. ch. 8. f. 1. 2. istinatione. pro estinatione QVaderno C ch. 3. f. 1. 16. cōtemto. pro cōtempo. l. 10. suspicare. pro suspicace. QVaderno D ch. 1. f. 5. l. 3. parare. p parlare. ch. 5. f. 1. 15. fa parturisce. ch. 6. f. 1. 10. Gratis. p Gracis. QVaderno E. ch. 2. f. 5. l. 11. seguitoe. p seguiroe. ch. 6. f. 1. 4. feruli pro ferali. QVaderno F ch. 2. f. 5. l. 11. ulti. amante. pro amātine. ch. 3. f. 5. l. 3. Caro. pro Ciaro. Nò se numera le linee delle mainfeule. Venetiis Mense decembri. M. LD. in ædibus Aldi Manutii. accuratissime.

**Figure 2** An example of an exhaustive list of errata from *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), presumably by Francesco Colonna, printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice. Image from the *Internet archive*.



## ERRATA

*Reader*, Some few mistakes in Printing, are here remarked;  
the rest being inconsiderable, are left to thee to amend.

**I**N the Epistle to the Reader, p. 10. l. 21. r. *bloody*. l. 36. *abominable*.  
p. 13. l. 3. *hath*. In the body of the Book, p. 7. l. 2. r. *it's*. l. 3. *this*. p.  
16. l. 10. blot out, *the*. p. 17. l. 11. r. *letter*. p. 20. l. 34. *persons*. p. 21.  
l. 15. *inasmuch*. l. 17. *that*. p. 30. l. 14. *their*. p. 39. l. 5. blot out, *are*. p.  
54. l. 8. r. *I Job*. p. 56. l. 32. *apostacy*. p. 63. l. 15. *women*. p. 66. l. 33.  
*after much*, r. *as*. p. 73. l. 30. *tu es*. p. 77. l. 19. *increase*. p. 79. l. 30. *through-*  
*out*. p. 85. l. 28. *for*, *have*. r. *are*. p. 114. l. 7. *this*. p. 117. l. 22. *after*  
*have*, add, *said*.



**Figure 3** An example of a general apology. Errata from Richard Baxter's *Pneumatou diakonia* (1682). Image from the *Early English Books Online* (Wing / B1348).

### 2.3 Types of Errors and Methods of Error Production

Typing often generates typographical errors, whether it be with computers today or printing in the early modern period. Inversion of letters and other misprints are familiar to a modern writer or reader, just as an early modern writer or reader was familiar with the peculiar errors produced by the printing methods of the time. These types of error included, for instance, rotated letters or letters confused with others, especially <f> and the long s <ſ> that was used at the beginning or in the middle of a word, e.g. in “fins” (i.e. ‘since’) (Blair 2007, 22). Early modern errata lists could address these kinds of errors as well as errors of use and spelling, such as a double consonant in place of a single one, punctuation errors or missing letters (Blair 2007, 22). Corrections to headings, font choice, paratexts, such as the table of contents, or dialectal errors can also be found in early modern errata lists (Blair 2007, 30; Lerer 2003, 44).

To support the analysis of the individual errors in the data, I distinguish two major types of errors: *orthographical* and *typographical* errors, following van Berkel and De Smedt (1998, 77). Orthographical errors, according to van Berkel and De Smedt, are *cognitive* errors that arise from the author’s ignorance, failure of memory or misunderstanding and usually result in a word phonologically identical or almost identical to the intended word (ibid.). Typographical errors, on the other hand,

are *motoric* errors that result from hitting the wrong keys in a computer keyboard, for instance, and generally do not lead to a word which is homophonous with the correct one (ibid.). Van Berkel and De Smedt studied computational error detection and correction and created an analysis method for orthographical and typographical word-level errors. Even though van Berkel and De Smedt's study is concerned with error detection and spell checkers, they have a useful and clear classification of errors that could be utilised in the present study with some modifications that are presented below.

Van Berkel and De Smedt's division is very general and needs some adjusting and specifying to make it applicable to the early modern English context. In relation to orthographical errors, van Berkel and De Smedt mention only errors that consist of "the substitution of a deviant spelling for a correct one" (1998, 77), meaning that they are discussing only spelling errors. Orthography, however, includes also other conventions for writing a language than spelling: norms of hyphenation, capitalisation, word breaks and punctuation are also part of orthography (Rutkowska 2012, 226). Van Berkel and De Smedt mention four types of typographical errors: single deletions, insertions, substitutions and transpositions (1998, 77). All the error types refer to misspelling of one letter. Deletion (e.g. "continous" for *continuous*) and insertion (e.g. "explanation" for *explanation*) refer to the omission of a required and the inclusion of a redundant letter in the word, respectively. Substitution (e.g. "anyboby" for *anybody*) refers to the replacement of one letter with another, whereas transposition (e.g. "autoamtically" for *automatically*) refers to the exchange of two letters. Van Berkel and De Smedt's typographical errors ('typos') are obviously connected to modern computer keyboards but the same errors are also compatible with the early modern period. Same kind of errors are connected to printing and manual type-setting in the early modern period, though with an additional type of typographical error, inverted letter, which cannot occur in modern typing, but was possible in early modern print context (McKitterick 2003, 115).

Printed works derive from an antecedent copy, a prior printed edition or a manuscript (Bland 2010, 160). With these *printer's copies*, the physical documents that are followed when setting type (Tanselle 1970, 192), the compositors and correctors encountered the same problems in setting the texts as scribes in making a copy (Bland 2010, 160). Compositor, or the typesetter, was responsible for selecting the pieces of type and assembling them for printing, whereas the corrector was responsible for correcting the proofs. Bland (2010, 160–61), for example, discusses

different types of variants in text that are related to the printer's copy. These variants may arise from misreading, making unintentional variants or intentional variants if the copy with which the compositor or printer had to work with was less than satisfactory (ibid.). McKerrow classifies the errors by the compositor into four groups: "(1) errors due to misreading of MMS. [manuscripts] [...], (2) errors due to failure of memory, (3) muscular errors, those in which the fingers do not visit the intended division of type-case (i.e. the compartmentalised box used in storing types), [...] (4) those due to 'foul case', i.e. to wrong types being in the divisions" ([1928] 1994, 252).

The last two classes, (3) and (4), are rather unambiguous, but classes (1) and (2) may need clarification. Class (1), errors due to misreading manuscripts (including also mishearing, as some compositors may have worked from dictation) is connected to interpreting the author's, editor's or other intermediate person's handwriting, which is a potential source for confusion (McKerrow [1928] 1994, 252–54). Class (2), then, is connected to the compositor's working method which included reading a few words or phrases from the manuscript and collecting all the corresponding types while retaining the words in mind (McKerrow [1928] 1994, 254). It is not unnatural, nor uncommon, that some words become replaced by other words similar in sound or meaning (ibid.).

McKerrow's classification concerns the ways in which errors can be generated by the compositor but does not go into detail about what kinds of errors each way produces. In the light of van Berkel and De Smedt's definitions of orthographical and typographical errors, McKerrow's classes (1) and (2) would result in orthographical errors, whereas classes (3) and (4) would result in typographical errors. In practise, however, in most cases it is highly difficult to differentiate between orthographical and typographical errors. Although the origin and the way of producing errors may be known in theory, different practices may result in similar or even identical errors.

## **2.4 Authors and Readers**

Being cautious about scholarly reputation and retaining reader satisfaction were important issues for some authors. Whether it be for the pursuit of an ideal truth or practical concerns about blame and retribution, the early modern authors and printers were concerned with the virtues of minimising errors (Blair 2007, 25). According to

Lerer, the errata list became the stage for claiming authorial fidelity in early modern England (2002, 21). Just as other aspects of early printing, the use of errata lists was not consistent, and only a small percentage of books included them (Blair 2007, 35). A definitive connection between different types of books and errata lists has not been found yet, but doctrinal texts and other learned works often included a densely packed errata list (Blair 2007, 31), as was discussed above in relation to the *exhaustive* type of errata list, which was perhaps used to maintain good authorial reputation. As Blair notes, errors could come at a cost in reader dissatisfaction (2007, 27), and thus authors and printers would want to avoid them with comprehensive errata lists.

Blair suggests that errata lists and the accompanying blurbs were meant to divert the reader's attention and transform the responsibility for errors to someone else (2007, 33). Blurb, in the present context, refers to a short introductory text before the errata list that could address, for instance, the reasons for the errors, such as in a blurb before an errata list in Thomas Powell's work from 1675:

Courteous Reader, Which Title thou shalt well deserve, if thou wilt but excuse the Author from such Errata's as have escaped the Press, being very many and great, his distance from the City not giving him the opportunity to peruse the sheets as they were done, the most material whereof are here subjoyn'd, and do beg the coverture of thy candid censure. (Powell 1675, *EEBO* image no. 75, Wing / P3076)<sup>3</sup>.

The apologetic text before the list of errors in Figure 3 is also considered to be a blurb.

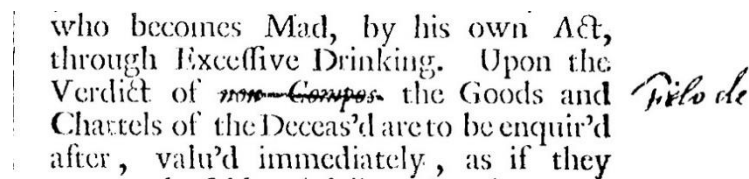
Sometimes authors, printers and editors did not feel very warmly towards each other, as Richardson emphasises in relation to the early Italian printing (1994, 12). Often the mistakes in errata lists are blamed on the lack of care of the pressmen, or criticism towards the work is deflected by flattering the readers and their erudition, as Blair (2007, 34) notes with examples from sixteenth-century books. Occasionally authors lived with their printers at the time of the production of the book in order to oversee the printing (Simpson 1970, 31), but not doing so allowed the authors to divert the blame from themselves. For example, in the above example Powell is apologising for the mistakes, although he is implying that he cannot be blamed for them as he was not able to proofread the work due to his distance from the printing house. Diverting

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<sup>3</sup> Allographs, such as <s> and <f> are not distinguished in quotations from the early modern works in this thesis.

the attention of the reader and blaming others for the mistakes were presumably ways to exculpate the author and retain good reputation.

Early modern readers were often encouraged in the errata list and accompanying texts to correct the mistakes given in the errata lists in their own copies of the book. Thus, printed works were not something definitive but open texts that readers could edit for themselves. Correcting errors to one's own copy of a book was a common practice among the early modern readers. Lerer (2002, 25) mentions two copies of a work by Thomas More in which individual readers have corrected the text by following the errata list. This can also be seen in the material of the present study. Figure 4 presents an example of a manuscript correction in a 1700 book by John Adams. In this particular copy of the book, the reader has used strikethrough to mark the words "non Compos" that are mistaken and corrected them in the margin, as instructed in the errata list in the end of the book.



**Figure 4** An example of a manuscript correction. *An essay concerning self-murther* by John Adams (1700). Image from the *Early English Books Online* (Wing / A483).

Thus, reading practices in early modern Europe were very different from practices today. Before the invention of the printing press, manuscripts were carefully produced and read. The manuscript production was closely related to demand, because books were produced as commissions or at least in anticipation of demand (Blair 2007, 41). Due to the possibility of mass production of printed books, albeit not in the scale of modern book production, many books were left unread. Reader corrections are a valuable sign of careful reading. Readers correcting the text with a pen in hand according to the instructions given in the errata shaped the transmission of that text, at least through their individual copies (Blair 2007, 40). Changes made by the reader constituted the final stage of production of a printed text, and hence the readers played an active role in shaping the final version of the text (Blair 2007, 41). The place of the reader was critical, not just in bringing understanding and a context of experiences, but in that the reader was part of the physical manufacture of the book (McKitterick

2003, 132). Thus, the errata list served as a guide for reading and it ranks alongside other guiding paratexts of early print, such as the preface.

With the common practice of readers hand-correcting unnoticed mistakes in print and authors inviting them to do so, it seems as if it was taken for granted that perfection and completion in printing was unattainable. Even though a work may not have included an errata list, it did not mean that the work could not include any errors. Accordingly, the shortness of the errata list was not inevitably a guarantee of high standards and mistake-free text. In fact, the shortness of the errata list could even attempt to conceal a greater number of errors and inaccuracies (McKitterick 2003, 132).

This chapter has reviewed the key terminology around errata lists, the history and characteristics of errata lists as well as their production. Errors and their production methods were also discussed, together with authors' and readers' relationships with errata lists. The next chapter concentrates on a prescriptivism, providing an overview of its history and connection to standardisation.

### **3 Prescriptivism**

This chapter examines linguistic *prescriptivism*, the act of promoting one kind of language use over another. The first section gives a brief overview of recent studies related to prescriptivism. Then, section 3.1 defines prescriptivism and discusses its relation to descriptivism. Section 3.2 is concerned with the history of prescriptivism and introduces prescriptive practices in different stages of the early modern period. Lastly, section 3.3 connects prescriptivism to the process of standardisation and its effects.

When compared to studies interested specifically in errata lists that were discussed in the previous chapter, studies on prescriptivism seem numerous. In recent decades, researchers have shown an increased interest in studying the ideology of standard English and its origins. The interest in standardisation and the “age of prescriptivism,” traditionally the eighteenth century, have created many general works about the eighteenth century (see e.g. Görlach 2001 and Beal 2004) and more specific works on standardisation and prescriptivism (see e.g. Watts 2000; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008a; Beal 2010). The study of prescriptivism is often centred around eighteenth-century grammar writing, and a growing body of literature has concentrated



on the theme of grammar writing and grammarians (see e.g. Wright 1994; Yáñez-Bouza 2008 and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008b), even though prescriptivism is not only a phenomenon of the late modern period as it can be connected to early modern printing practices and errata lists, for instance. In addition to studying grammar writing, the question of whether prescriptivists had an impact on the actual language use has also awoken the interest of researchers. A high number of prescriptive grammars and grammarians alone does not prove actual influence on language usage. However, several studies have addressed the issue of how consequential the grammarians and their grammars were at the time in changing actual language use (see e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1994; Percy 1996 and Auer 2006).

Prescriptivism, linguistic purism and nationalism are all related ideas and concepts that are employed by both laymen and scholars. Today, the latter are less likely than the former to adopt any of these postures. However, in earlier times, it was the scholars who prescribed activities of one sort or another. Most professional scholars today find linguistic purism and prescriptivism somehow distasteful and undemocratic (Edwards 2012, 25), and perhaps this is the reason why prescriptivism has been neglected in scholarly literature, as will be discussed in 3.1. However, as was indicated by the summary of the scholarly literature on prescriptive texts and ideology, this area of study has gained much ground in recent decades as scholars have developed an interest in prescriptivism and other important sociolinguistic phenomena.

### 3.1 Prescriptivism and Descriptivism – Necessarily Related Constructs

Linguistic prescriptivism refers to the ways in which language ought to be used. Prescriptive grammars, for instance, *prescribe* (or dictate) and often also *proscribe* (or forbid) certain ways of speaking or writing. A prescriptive grammar can state, for example, that the accusative case *me* cannot be used after the verb *be*, but rather the nominative *I* would be the correct choice, as in example 1.

- (1)            It is I – It's me.

In contrast, such a rule is not found in a descriptive grammar, as the interest lies in the description of language, without making value judgements. Only in a prescriptive sense can aspects of language be said to have good or bad values, for descriptivism



simply describes structures and the contexts in which the structures are used. There is no inherent badness or goodness in grammatical forms of language. Grammarians of the past, and to an extent even those of today, have been concerned with erroneous language use. However, it should be noted that informality has often been confused with ungrammaticality. As Williams notes (1975, 97), structures such as multiple negation may occur frequently in a dialect, making the structure grammatical for the speakers of that particular dialect. From the perspective of a descriptive grammarian, no single structure is more grammatical in itself.

Having defined the concepts of prescriptivism and descriptivism, it must be noted that prescription and description are necessarily related constructs: each contains elements of the other. Pure descriptivism and pure prescriptivism are abstractions and ideals that no one can consistently hold onto. Some scholars have had the impression that prescriptivism should not be a part of linguistics. Prescriptivism is an area that, as Milroy and Milroy (1999, 4) note, is often seen as “not quite respectable.” Edwards (2012, 28, fn. 4) briefly discusses the same phenomenon of underrating the importance of prescriptivism and states that it is based on the “fallacious notion that to study something is to endorse it.” Prescriptivism may be somewhat incompatible with scholarly methods as modern linguistics aims to be descriptive in the sense which modern natural science aims to be descriptive. However, if we want to know more about language as a phenomenon, we must try not to base our study on prejudices. Milroy and Milroy expressed their concerns about the neglect of studies concentrating on prescriptivism already in 1985. Today, their view is becoming increasingly outdated, because of the interest in the early and late modern periods and the prescriptive grammar writing associated with those times.

### **3.2 Prescriptivism through the Modern Period**

This section examines the history of linguistic prescriptivism in early and late modern England from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The “golden age” of prescriptivism is typically said to be in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Furthermore, prescriptivism is rarely discussed in relation to earlier times, especially with the exact term *prescriptivism*. However, I argue that prescriptivism was an ideology practiced before the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though it did not manifest in any official set of rules or prescriptions. Instead, prescriptivism could be

seen in practice in the way authors and printers handled errors and misprints, for example in errata lists.

Prescriptivism cannot be discussed without mentioning its presence in grammar writing during the late modern English period. During the eighteenth century, the rise of the middle classes was a prevalent social and cultural issue. The number of middle class people increased steadily throughout the century and the need for grammars and self-help guides to ‘correct’ language emerged (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008c, 6). The new group of parvenus aspired for social acceptance and status with the help of grammarians who provided them with a way to correct their use of English. This kind of social aspiration for mobility generated linguistic and social insecurity that led to the demand for prescriptive guides for language use (Beal 2004, 94). Consequently, a new market niche was found, and numerous books aimed at teaching correct usage of English were published, and as Hickey (2010, 8) notes, the middle classes formed the market for grammars and guidebooks for people striving for social acceptance.

Social insecurity and the idea of standardisation and codification (the methods by which the standardisation is implemented) of English contributed to the great number of grammar books. Even though grammar writing began well before the eighteenth century, when the codification of English grammar started to become an ideology (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008c, 2), the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth century was prosperous for the grammarians. According to Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2008b, 106), the number of English grammars published in the eighteenth century was under 200, whereas the number of grammars in the nineteenth century reached over 800 (Michael 1991, 12). The spreading ideology of standardisation and codification of English led to the spreading of grammar books and thereby prescriptive ideology, culminating in the nineteenth century into what Michael (1991) described as “more than enough English grammars.”

Although prescriptivism is often discussed in relation to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the roots of prescriptive ideology go further back in history. Although the principal developments of prescriptive writing only happened in the eighteenth century, the early stages of prescriptive (as well as descriptive) writing on language could be seen earlier, as well (Nurmi 2012, 59). In England, the early history of linguistic prescriptivism and the idea of language authorities arose from Renaissance (ca. 1400–1600) ideas about linguistic diversity and dialects. Blank

(1996, 7–32) suggests that Renaissance authors and their increased interest in dialects and linguistic differences contribute to the construction of early modern English, how “English itself was a construction of the time” (Blank 1996, 1). The Renaissance efforts to promote the status of English against Latin, the main language of science and learning, were successful, as Lancashire (2012, 39–62) notes in relation to William Cecil, a chief minister of Elizabeth I, who powerfully influenced the growth of English. In addition to consciousness of linguistic differences across national borders, internal debates of the same kind divided English itself. In an age before official measures were taken to unify the language, dialects, understood as any manner of speaking or writing that could be judged as “peculiar” or “common” varieties of language (Blank 1996, 8) competed for the place of the shared national language. The idea of dialect then conditioned the production of the first English vernacular grammars, dictionaries and suggestions for spelling reform (Blank 1996, 4), giving rise to early language authorities.

The idea of authority in language is closely connected to prescriptivism, as the practice of prescriptivism requires someone to prescribe and proscribe. Although the notion of linguistic authority was already current in Renaissance England, no single established system of rules existed yet, proving a great convenience for the many language reformers seeking to change the language. The dictionaries, grammars and treatises of these early reformers represent some of the earliest attempts at linguistic prescription in England, albeit prescriptivism did not yet manifest itself in any official or uniform system of rules. Since no official authorities or set of language rules were available, printers, authors, editors and others working in the early modern publishing business could have had differing opinions on correct or right language use. They could express one’s own ideas in the errata lists where it was possible to amend the text and correct a word’s spelling to one’s own liking, for instance. Authors’ and printers’ differing opinions on language use is further discussed in 5.7.

In England, calls for an official language academy were made already in the mid-seventeenth century, following in the footsteps of the continent: the Italian and French academies had been founded in 1582 and 1635 to codify the language by stating the rules of grammar and refining it. Founding an official academy was thought to be the solution for fixing the irregularities in English usage (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006, 241). No academy was founded, however, and this left the codification of English in the hands of various authors who were concerned with ascertaining and

‘fixing’ the English language. John Dryden was one of the first to propose a language academy like those of Italy and France. Dryden was a member of the Royal Society’s language committee that was established in 1664 to ‘improve’ English (Ayres-Bennet and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2016, 107). The committee failed to produce any concrete results, but the idea of an academy persisted. In 1712, Jonathan Swift, for example, continued in the footsteps of Dryden with his famous pamphlet *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue*. Although these attempts to correct or improve the English language may not have produced any official rules, their impact may be seen in writings that allow for variation and the critique of it, for example in personal word choices in letter writing or the corrections in errata lists. The concept of ‘fixing’ English is one of the key aspects of the emerging standard English (Hickey 2012, 5). Thus, discussion about prescriptivism in the early modern period is closely related to the notion of standard English and the process of standardisation.

### **3.3 Prescriptivism in the Process of Standardising English**

Despite the seemingly simple nature of the terms *standard* and *standardisation*, the definitions vary. Stein (1994, 2–4), for instance, provides three different definitions for these terms. According to Stein, the first use is related to standardisation in a broad sense where standard language is connected to “localised” standard, for example, as a religious language or a language of education. The second, more technical and restricted, sense is concerned with standardisation and standard language as the resulting variety. This definition of a nation-wide standard language was developed in language planning situations in countries with no nationally accepted varieties. Steins’ third use of standard is connected to the association of a standard language and the written form of that language, and the notion of standard in the absence of such written standard.

Standardisation hinders linguistic change but does not prevent it altogether. As Milroy (2000, 14) notes, the relationship between language maintenance and the acceptance of change is in constant tension. Thus, in Moessner’s words, the “concept of standard language is a paradox” (2012, 700). Lack of variation and stability are properties intimately associated with standard language, yet languages do change and allow variation. As Milroy (2000, 11) notes, standardisation is a process that in some sense is always in progress. In this respect, standard varieties and standard

languages are ideas of the mind, invariant idealisations that do not exactly comply with actual usage. In this sense, the corrections in the errata lists may not be connected to any agreed or widespread norm, but possibly to the personal preference or norms of the errata list's composer. People do not speak in standard languages, but vernaculars that may sometimes approximate closely to the standard (Milroy 2000, 13). The belief in the existence of a codified standard language that is invariable and immutable results in linguistic purism (Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006, 285). *Linguistic purism* is a form of prescriptivism which refers to the practice of recognising only one variety of language as intrinsically better. Linguistic purism often emerges in political and educational settings (Janicki 2012, 155). Edwards notes that the clearest example of linguistic purism and language protection are found in the existence and the works of language academies (2012, 11).

The eighteenth century is depicted as an age of standardisation and prescriptivism, during which English was codified close to the form we know it today (Auer 2012, 940). The process of standardisation has been modelled in different ways, and Haugen, for example, has proposed a four-way model for a discussion of the standardisation process. Haugen's model includes (1) selection of norm, (2) codification of form, (3) elaboration of function, and (4) acceptance of the norm (1966, 931–33). Stage (1) is always the starting point where the language community agrees on a model that serves as the base for the norm, and stage (4) the end where the community has accepted the norm. Stages between can overlap and occur in different times. Stage (2) refers to the development of the structure of the language (for instance, its phonology and lexicon), whereas stage (3) refers to the elaboration of the language for different domains, such as scientific use. Haugen's model, as influential it has been, does not, however, consider prescriptivism. A more recent model by Milroy and Milroy elaborates and arranges differently Haugen's stages. Milroy and Milroy (1999, 22–23) propose a stricter model for standardisation with seven stages of (1) selection, (2) acceptance, (3) diffusion, (4) maintenance, (5) elaboration of function, (6) codification and (7) prescription. These stages do not necessarily need to follow each other or proceed with the same speed. Stages (1) and (2) are similar to Haugen's model as in these stages the norm is selected by a language community as well as accepted by influential people. In stages (3) and (4), the norm is geographically diffused as well as maintained through education, for example. Stage (5) corresponds to Haugen's elaboration of function. In the case of English, the last stages of codification (6) and

prescriptivism (7) were stages during which the rules of language were determined and codified in dictionaries, grammars and spelling books of the early modern period after which prescriptivism intensifies as language-users have access to these authorial works.

The chief manifestation of the standard is the written language, and accordingly, the process of linguistic standardisation can be retraced to the gradual development towards greater conformity in written English (Milroy and Milroy 1999, 25). Howard-Hill discusses the printing house's role in the process of standardising English spelling. In the early modern period, compositors and printers did not always follow the spelling of their copies (2006, 16). According to Howard-Hill, the development of spelling towards a standard results from the strive for economy: printers, like other craftsmen, aimed to perform their work more efficiently to gain maximum return from labour and materials (2006, 18, 29). This is connected to the compositor's role in printing and their ability to remember and correctly assemble the types required for specific lines of the copy. Spelling standardisation brought significant increase in the efficiency of compositors' work, and vice versa (Howard-Hill 2006, 24). The spelling practices of compositors and printers and their relation to corrections in errata lists are further discussed in 5.7. In general, it can be argued that a high degree of uniformity in spelling existed in early modern printed texts, although variation existed especially in private writing (Auer 2012, 942). Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2012, 38) also notes, that spelling is the only area of English that could be said to have been open to standardisation. The developing early modern England had a need for reliable communication in writing, and generally the need was filled successfully. As a rule, preventing change in spoken languages, however, has not been as successful.

The effects of standardisation were visible especially in social dimensions where prescriptive rules affected especially upwardly mobile people. Prescriptive rules are connected to social behaviour, as the use, or misuse, of minor features of language can produce large social distinctions. Milroy and Milroy (1999) stress the negative consequences of the standard ideology: once the standard is in place, it imposes a binary distinction between legitimate and illegitimate forms of language. With a restricted set of rules concerning, for example, pronoun use or choice of preposition, speakers can choose to avoid or follow the rules and be aware that they are not making any clumsy mistakes that might expose their social status (Williams 1975, 96). Knowledge of such rules allows one to judge others who are breaking the

rules, thus contributing to the creation of social distinctions. As was discussed in 2.4, the recognition of this social dimension in language use is also visible in the errata lists, or more specifically in the accompanying blurbs. In these texts, possible social judgements due to making errors are minimised by assuring the reader that the errors are acknowledged and attempts have been made to correct them.

Eighteenth-century judgements about non-standard speech were directly connected to the nineteenth-century disapprobation of regional and local accents (Hickey 2012, 6). Lack of regionality was a defining feature of the early nineteenth-century speech standard (Hickey 2012, 6–7). ‘Vulgar’ speech, often regional or otherwise non-standard, was a common nineteenth-century subject of disapproval. Numerous prescriptive guide-books, such as the 1829 work *The Vulgarities of Speech Corrected: With Elegant Expressions for Provincial and Vulgar English, Scots, and Irish; for the Use of Those Who Are Unacquainted with Grammar* were published to correct the pronunciation and style of speakers.

Grammar writings, pronunciation and style guides and general guidebooks on good English are a prospering business even in today’s world. As previously mentioned, the English language does not have an official authority, a language academy, regulating the use of English or establishing standard guidelines for it, turning people to the authority of grammar and guidebook writers (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006, 242), who still continue the prescriptive stage of Milroy and Milroy’s model of standardisation. For example, Lynne Truss’s *Eats, Shoots and Leaves: The Zero Tolerance Approach to Punctuation* was the best-selling non-fiction book of 2003 in the UK, and Mignon Fogarty’s book *Grammar Girl’s Quick and Dirty Tips for Better Writing* was a New York Times bestseller in 2008. These kinds of grammar books enhance the view of the public that there are some fixed linguistic norms which should be followed in order to speak or write correctly.

Having discussed errata lists and prescriptivism in more general level, I will now move on to describe the present study and how it was conducted.

## **4 Material and Methods**

This chapter is divided into two parts that are concerned with the material and the methodology used for this study. Section 4.1 gives an overview of the online database

*Early English Books Online* from which the data was gathered, moving then to discuss its advantages and limitations as a source for early printed material. Section 4.2 begins by introducing the material of the present study. Next, the collecting and analysing process of the data is discussed together with an evaluation of the methodology.

#### **4.1 The *Early English Books Online***

The research data in this thesis is drawn from the *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) database. EEBO, provided by ProQuest, is a commercial electronic resource for scholars working on pre-1700 English history and literature. Ian Gadd even places EEBO among other substantial humanist reference works, such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* or the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2009, 680). Although EEBO is an important source for scholars, or as Diana Kichuk (2007, 295) puts it: “a ‘must have’ scholarly tool,” it has certain limitations. These will be addressed after a general overview below which is largely based on the information provided by the EEBO homepage (ProQuest 2017), if not stated otherwise.

EEBO, launched in 1998, is an online collection of early printed works from 1473 to 1700 including “virtually every work printed - - [f]rom the first book published through the age of Spencer and Shakespeare.” The collection contains works printed in English-speaking areas (England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and British North America) as well as works in English that have been printed elsewhere. EEBO covers variant editions and multiple copies in over 30 languages from Algonquin to Welsh, and the database contains over 130,000 printed works from libraries across Europe and North America. EEBO covers works from a broad range of subject areas, such as English literature, history, philosophy, theology, education and science.

EEBO’s history is closely connected to Eugene Power’s University Microfilms International (UMI; now a division of ProQuest) collection of early printed books and four other collections that were part of Power’s microfilm collection: the English Short-Title Catalogue (first published in 1927), the Wing Catalogue (first published in 1945–51), the Thomason Tracts and the Early English Books Tract supplement. EEBO is an online continuation of Power’s project that continues still today. The selection of works for imaging was based on the English Short-Title Catalogue (STC) and the Wing Catalogue (Wing), which were also used as sources for



the accompanying bibliographical information. These works are short-title catalogues that list printed works in an abbreviated fashion and are designed to identify editions.

Due to the limited space in the catalogues and the lengthy titles of especially early modern books, abbreviating titles and other information was necessary. The STC and Wing are seminal works of bibliographic scholarship embarked on defining the printed record of English literature from the late fifteenth century to 1700. As almost all the works in EEBO can be traced by their STC or Wing number (e.g. Wing C5399), these numbers are used in this thesis when referring to the particular work and its errata list used as material for this study. All the works used in this study can be found from Appendix 1 in which they are listed by their STC or Wing number.

Each entry in EEBO contains a short bibliographic description of the work with the information, where available, about the author, title, imprint (place of publication, printer, and date), date, bibliographical number (e.g. STC number), physical description (number of pages) and the name of the source library in which the book is located. For each entry, EEBO provides the option to view the document's full bibliographic record, digitized content, illustrations (if applicable), possible encoded transcriptions for subscribing libraries and the thumbnails of the content images. The full bibliographic record displays the following details for each document, when available: the full title as in the original record, additional titles, author and other authors, author role (e.g. editor), imprint, date, bibliographical number, physical description, notes, source library information, UMI collection and reel number and the subject headings of the document as classified in the Library of Congress Subject Headings.

The layout of works in EEBO consists of an 'open book' layout where images of the pages appear sequentially in black and white digital images. The user can browse through the page images or illustrations alone or download individual images. Because image files cannot be searched directly, EEBO has generated an entirely different project together with the University of Michigan Library's *Text Creation Partnership* (TCP) whose purpose is to create large-scale electronic resources in full-text (Text Creation Partnership 2017). To date, more than 40,000 text documents are delivered back to ProQuest and indexed in EEBO, so the transcriptions can be viewed directly within the EEBO platform (Text Creation Partnership 2017). Welzenbach notes that the works in this collaboration build an independent archive of

XML-encoded electronic text transcribed by hand (2012, 2). EEBO-TCP provides full-text transcriptions for a large selection of printed documents that can be found in EEBO, enabling one to search particular words or phrases from the documents, which was not possible before.

Next, I will address the advantages and disadvantages of using EEBO as a source for material. EEBO was chosen to be the database from which to collect material for this study due to its easy accessibility and extensive coverage of early printed English books. It was also important that the errata lists could be inspected as digital images rather than plain text in order to inspect their physical features. EEBO includes tens of thousands of records of printed books from the early modern period, allowing diachronic study of texts and physical copies of books. EEBO is certainly a rich source for studying early printed texts, and as Werner (2012, 1) points out, its digital facsimiles are available for anyone to consult without travelling from library to library. However, it must be noted, that EEBO does not provide a complete view of the early modern print culture in Britain and associated areas, as indicated below.

The limitations of the printed short-title catalogues also transfer to EEBO. The short-title catalogues had carefully prescribed geographical, linguistic, typographical and date limitations that were connected to the requirements of the books to be catalogued (Zimmer and Brown 2017). Gadd (2009, 683) notes that a large number of foreign-printed Latin books were imported into England from the fifteenth century onwards, but these are not found in EEBO due to the geographical and linguistic constraints of the original short-title catalogues. For scholars trying to form a full representation of early English or British print culture, this can create biases if the material comes solely from EEBO. These biases, in turn, can lead to inaccurate ideas and misconceptions of the comprehensiveness of EEBO. As Schmitt (2003, 5) notes, the completed content of EEBO will only include 80 percent of the surviving printed works in English between 1475 and 1700. However, for the scope of this study, EEBO provides an adequate number of works from which to choose material, especially as English-language errata list are the ones studied in this thesis.

Additionally, though there are some exceptions, the records in EEBO are often represented by a single physical copy of an edition, but the bibliographic entries accompanying the copies are based on the short-title catalogues that in turn base their information on various copies of one work. As Gadd (2009, 687) argues, by pairing records with single witnesses of editions, EEBO is implying that the record and the

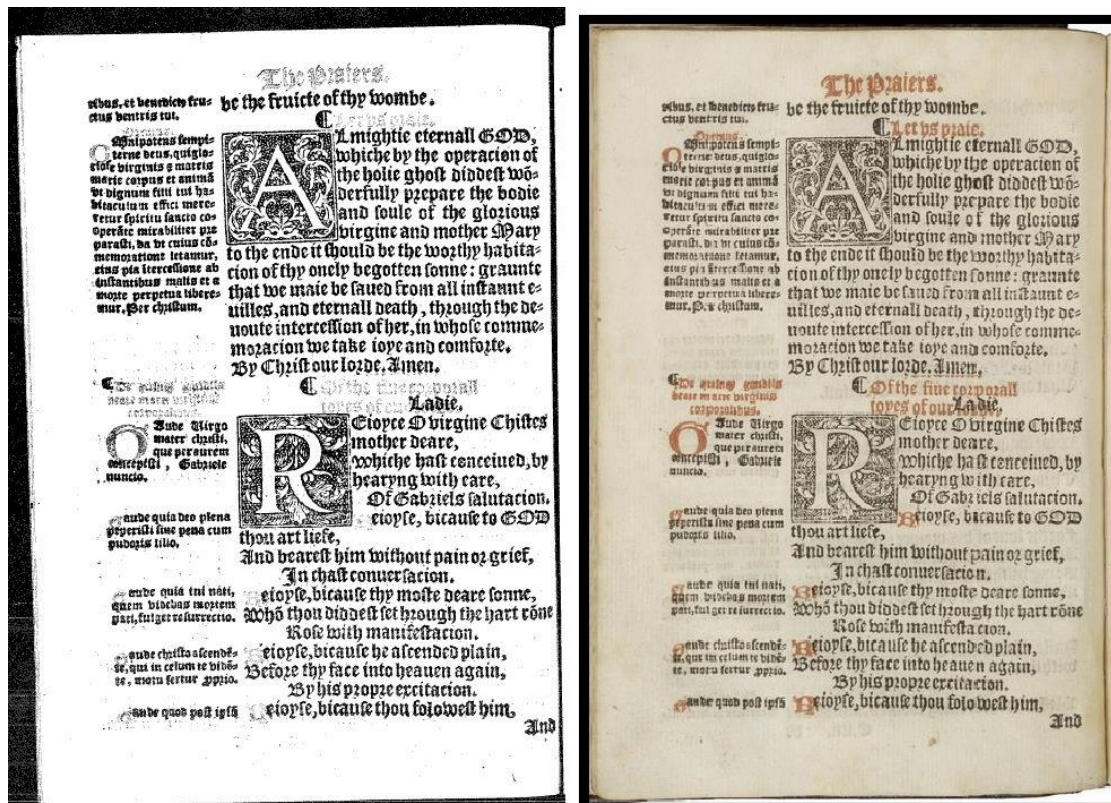
copy are the same thing. The copies or the ‘image sets’ for each record in EEBO represent only one copy of the edition (Gadd 2009, 686), even though the records in EEBO describe the corresponding editions in the short-title catalogues which are constructed from surviving copies that the compilers of the short-title catalogues have been able to locate (Gadd 2009, 683, 686). Copies of a publication may have perished before the cataloguing started or been found after it was finished. Each entry record in EEBO refers to the bibliographically reconstructed ideal copy of an edition. The ideal copy is based on an examination of multiple copies that represent an edition, issue or state of that particular title as its author, printer or publisher originally intended it to be (McKitterick 2003, 136).<sup>4</sup> Due to EEBO’s referencing to the ideal copy, or the edition rather than the individual copy that represent the edition, the scanned microfilm images rely upon what is described as “Edition of One” philosophy, creating thus a mismatch between the record and the image (Zimmer and Brown 2017). This can be problematic in studying early printed material which is characterised by the hand-press printing practices, for example in-press corrections and emendations, due to which no two copies were exactly alike, even in the same edition. Gadd also notes that EEBO does not contain a copy of every edition, nor does it contain a copy of all the surviving editions that were published before 1700 (2009, 686).

Another issue in relation to EEBO is remediation or re-presenting one medium in another. EEBO has undergone a “multi-layered genesis from print copy to microfilm facsimile, and from microfilm to digitized facsimile” (Kichuk 2007, 291), which has created problematic issues. As Kichuk (2007, 293) notes, the early microfilm images varied dramatically depending on equipment, the library’s standards and individual photographer’s technical skills. These limitations of cropping, image granularity and poor alignment of the document within the frame are preserved in the digital images. Page distortions and low resolution of images involve a considerable loss of detail of fonts, illustrations and hand-written marginalia (Kichuk 2007, 293–94). Werner offers illustrative examples of the importance of image quality by comparing the same opening of a work from EEBO and the Folger Shakespeare Library (2012, 3). A slightly modified version including only one page of the opening of Werner’s example is visualised below in Figure 5. The image from EEBO is

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<sup>4</sup> The concept of ‘ideal copy’ has been defined in various ways. For discussion on the definition, see McKitterick 2009, 136-37.

presented on the left-hand side, whereas the image from the Folger Shakespeare Library is on the right.



**Figure 5** Modified version of Werner's (2012, 3) example on image quality. Catholic Church, *Book of hours* (Salisbury) 1557, STC / 2287. From left to right: images from EEBO (St. David's University College Library) and the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Figure 5 illustrates the importance of reproduction of ink and how it affects the reading of the work. Werner (2012, 3) notes that as the red ink is barely visible in EEBO, the different categories of texts, such as the rubrication and the body text and what they might signal about the use of the book are lost. Rubrication or the red ink used for emphasis is clearly visible in the Folger Shakespeare Library's image in the headings at the top and middle of the page as well as in the smaller initials or the first letters at the beginning of the paragraphs. The red ink does not convert well into black and white in the EEBO image, and the rubrication that has faded into light-grey colour does not stand out from the rest of the text as it was meant to be. Werner also points out how the phrase "of the five corporall joyes of our Ladie" (in the middle of the page, in red ink, the word "Ladie" in black) is actually a correction for the erroneous "joyes of our lorde" (ibid.) and how this great mistake is easily lost in EEBO's image.

In EEBO, the sense of physicality of the book may be lost together with details of colour, binding, watermarks and knowledge of the book size. These are important aspects of the book when studying books as material objects rather than as texts alone. As Kichuk concludes, both microfilm and digital images have features that emulate but cannot capture the physical attributes of print (2007, 301). The problems caused by remediation and the standards and practices of the original microfilming affected most of the material of this study. Many potential errata lists had to be discarded because of the illegible text that had faded or was otherwise distorted. Some partially blurred or faded text in the material still remains. Especially with the earlier years, all errata lists with at least mostly legible text had to be included for the time periods to have a comparable number of lists. The questions discussed above should not be understood as devaluation of EEBO as a source for scholarly study, but they are important to bear in mind when forming research questions and selecting material from EEBO.

#### **4.2 Collecting and Analysing the Errata Lists**

Having introduced EEBO, the source for my material in detail, I now move on to discuss the actual material for this thesis. Since the general characteristics of errata lists were already discussed in 2.2, this section concentrates on the individual errata lists. The primary material consists of 80 errata lists from 1529 to 1700. In order to detect possible change in the lists over time, ten errata lists were chosen from eight different time periods: 1529–35, 1550–52, 1574–75, 1600, 1625, 1650, 1675 and 1700. The number of errata lists in each time period was chosen to give enough data from each time period without providing too much data for the scope of this thesis. The choice of timeframe is connected to the emergence of the errata list and the coverage of EEBO. As was mentioned in 2.2, the first records of errata lists in English works come from the early sixteenth century, and thus the first time period coincides with the chronological appearance of the errata list. The concluding year was chosen on the basis that 1700 is officially the final year that is covered in EEBO. The time periods between 1529–35 and 1700 represent 25-year intervals, although the early years do not completely match this idea. In the first three time periods, challenges occurred in finding enough errata lists from one year, and thus these periods consist of more than a single year.

The works containing the errata lists used as the primary source exhibit a variety of subject areas and topics, such as religious or philosophical texts and even works about sea-faring and falconry. They also represent a variety of works from treatises and dialogues to translations of the Bible and Latin grammar, ranging from works with only 24 pages to works with 1180 pages. The errata lists themselves also display different kinds of features. The layout of the errata lists, or how the errors are presented, and the extent of coverage, that is, how exhaustive the lists are, also vary considerably. The layouts range from different kinds of lists and tables to errors listed inside text. Furthermore, the errata lists in the material are of different lengths, from the shortest list consisting of just a few errors to the longest list of ten pages. The subject areas, variation between the layouts and the extent of coverage are analysed in detail and in relation to change over time in Chapter 5.

The present study is mainly empirical and data oriented. One aim of this thesis was to examine the nature of early English errata lists and determine their characteristics as well as to see if these features have changed over time. In order to achieve this, a large number of errata lists were needed. Consequently, 80 errata lists were selected as material to this study, as was discussed above. The selection process of the material is described below.

Each errata list was obtained through EEBO's search function that allows querying with various combinations of search criteria, such as keywords, titles, authors, bibliographic numbers and dates. The search results were limited to each time period or year at a time, together with the query terms of "errata" and "faults escaped." The motivation for choosing these specific query terms was explained in Chapter 2, where the headings of errata lists were discussed. To maximise the results, variant spellings and forms of each query term were included in the search by checking the 'variant spellings' box that allows search for early modern variants of the query terms. This search method produced varying amounts of results, the later years being more productive.

The search function is only able to find particular terms either from the full-text document or the bibliographic record where the placement or the physical location of the errata list in the book is sometimes mentioned together with other notes of the particular work. As a result, many works with errata lists were left undetected, as records without full-text transcriptions or mentions of errata lists in the bibliographic record would have had to be examined individually from the images one

at a time. This procedure would have been too time-consuming for this thesis. For the records that were found, either the full-text transcription was consulted in order to find the placement of the errata list, or if the transcription was not available, the document images were examined individually to locate the errata list. From the search results for each time period, whenever it was possible, ten errata lists were gathered by choosing one book from every second or third result page that lists ten works. Whenever possible, the books were chosen to be from different authors and to include more than a few pages.

As for the analysis of the data, a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches was used. Due to the nature of the material, the analysis was performed mainly as qualitative close reading. To support the analysis of the errata lists, and to study possible change in the course of time, quantitative elements were included in the methodology. The quantitative aspect provides more information on the characteristics of the early modern errata lists and whether they have changed, although the purpose of this study is not to produce completely generalisable results. Seven aspects were analysed from the books with errata lists: (1) the variety of books with errata lists, (2) the placement of the errata list in the book, (3) the heading of the errata list, (4) the presentation of errors and corrections in the errata lists, (5) the frequency of errors compared to the length of the book, (6) types of individual errors as well as (7) types of prescriptive corrections.

The above-mentioned features were chosen for this study on the basis of earlier research, or more specifically, the lack of it. Blair, for example, comments on the importance of studying errata lists from a broader perspective and requests a study on the types of books that included an errata list (2007, 22). She also comments on possible research on common patterns of error in the errata lists (*ibid.*). The question of the frequency of errors compared to the length of the book is also connected to Blair's classification of errata lists to exhaustive or general apologies that were discussed in Chapter 2. As was mentioned in 2.2, several scholars have claimed that errata lists are commonly located at the back of the book, but no systematic research findings have been presented so far. Similarly, headings of errata lists have been discussed in research literature (e.g. Lerer 2002, 20–21, 27), but they have not been studied as such. The fourth feature, the physical appearance of the errata list, is connected to previous research on books and text types as physical entities. By

studying possible prescriptive corrections in the errata list, I aim to provide a connection between errata lists and prescriptivism.

The first aspect of the errata lists to be analysed was the variety of books with errata lists (1). EEBO often, though not always, lists the subjects of the works in their bibliographical records. For the analysis of the varieties that the books in the material represent, these bibliographic records were consulted to determine the variety or topic of the books. If no subject was listed, the topic was determined by examining the book itself. The books were also divided into religious and secular works based on the subject keywords given in the bibliographical record page in EEBO. If no self-evident keywords were given, such as 'history' or 'sermons,' the subject matter of the book was determined by reading the book. The books were then classified according to their subject matters into ten categories, following Bennett's (1952; 1965; 1970) classification of early modern book varieties. The categories include, for instance, *religious*, *philosophical*, *medicinal* and *legal* texts. Each category and each time period were represented in a table to analyse any change over time in the topics as well as to see the total number of the texts in each category. The variety of books with errata lists is further discussed in 5.1.

In addition to studying the variety of books with errata lists, the placement (2) and headings (3) of the errata lists together with the layout of the errata list and presentation of the errors (4) were also aspects of study in determining the characteristics of the early modern errata list. The placement of the errata lists (2) was determined to belong to one of two categories, *back matter* or *front matter*. Back and front matter refer to the material after and before the body text. In addition, these two categories were still divided into smaller categories based on the placement within the back or front matter, as this was an aspect that also varied. The results were placed in a table where each errata list was represented by its time period and corresponding location. Similarly, the errata lists were classified into three groups according to their headings (3): *Errata*, *Faults escaped* and *Other*. These classes were presented in a table that connects each class to each time period. Additionally, another aspect that was analysed in a similar manner was the presentation of the errors and their corrections (4). Each errata list was classified according to the layout of the list, for example whether the errors and their corrections were presented in a list where one error was listed below or after another. These results were again transferred to a table



where each time period and form of presentation were connected. The placement, headings and layouts of the errata lists are analysed in 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4, respectively.

The analysis of the frequency of errors compared to the length of the book (5) is connected to Blair's (2007) classification of errata lists. Blair's classification, as was discussed in 2.2, includes only two classes, the *exhaustive list* and the *general apology*, and the material in this study was compared against Blair's definition of the classes to determine whether the errata lists fit her classification. For being able to compare the lists systematically and to determine the exhaustiveness of the errata list, the frequency of errors in each list was counted against the number of pages in the book. The average number of errors per page was calculated by dividing the number of errors by the number of pages.

The analysis of individual errors and corrections (6) and their possible display of prescriptivism (7) required a closer inspection of the actual errata lists and what was written in them. In studying the types of individual errors, van Berkel and De Smedt's (1998) classification of errors was utilised with some modifications, as was discussed in 2.3. The analysis of prescriptive corrections was very materially oriented since no prior classification or methodology for determining prescriptivism from errata lists could be found. The types of prescriptive corrections were determined based on the findings that stood out in the errata lists. The following description on the inspection of errors and corrections apply both to the study of (6) and (7). Due to the large number of errata lists and the scope of this thesis, four errata lists from each time period or year, 32 in total, were selected to be scrutinised more closely. This selection was by no means random. The selected errata lists were the most legible ones and displayed a great number of potentially different kinds of errors. Each errata list was examined through by locating the errors listed in the errata list from the book itself and comparing them to the corrections referred in the errata list, as the original erroneous word or phrase had to be seen to determine the type of mistake. Some errata lists give only the correct reading, while others give both the erroneous and correct reading. Even though the erroneous reading and correct reading were both written side by side, the text itself needed to be consulted so that the context, or the type, of the error could be understood.

This study is subject to certain limitations. Firstly, the reader should bear in mind that the study is based on a relatively small sample of texts, which means that the quantitative requirements for generalisation cannot be completely fulfilled. Due to

practical constraints, this thesis cannot provide a comprehensive review of the early modern English errata list, as the number of errata lists is too small to make any fundamental deductions.

This chapter has described EEBO, the source from which the material was drawn as well as the procedures and methods used in this investigation. A detailed analysis and discussion of the findings is presented in the next chapter.

## **5 Analysis and Discussion**

This chapter is divided into seven sections that each analyse and discuss the different aspects studied in the 80 errata lists that were used as material for this study. First, section 5.1 is concerned with the variety of books that included errata lists. Section 5.2 discusses the physical placement of the errata list in the book after which section 5.3 addresses the headings of the errata lists and their naming conventions. Section 5.4 then examines the layout of the errata lists, that is, how the errors and their corrections are presented in the lists. Section 5.5 is concerned with the average frequency of errors in the books. Section 5.6 analyses the types of individual errors in the errata lists. Finally, section 5.7 studies prescriptivism in relation to the errata lists and their potentially prescriptive corrections.

### **5.1 The Variety of Books with Errata Lists**

Bennett discusses the variety of early modern books in his three volumes of *English Books and Readers, 1475–1557; 1558–1603; 1603–1640*. All three volumes describe the various kinds of books from the corresponding period of time. To study the topics of works that included errata lists in more detail, I utilised Bennett's survey of different varieties of books in the early modern era. In each volume, Bennett (1952, 65–151; 1965, 112–258; 1970, 87–198) discusses in some form the same ten varieties of books that are:

- |              |  |
|--------------|--|
| 1) religion  | 6) arithmetic, astronomy and popular science |
| 2) law       | 7) geography, travel and adventure           |
| 3) education | 8) history                                   |
| 4) medicine  | 9) news                                      |

5) information

10) literature.

In order to fit the present material into Bennett's classes, some minor modifications were made: one class was not taken into account and one class was added, together with some alterations to the names of the classes. Altogether, my classification of the varieties includes:

1) religion

6) mathematics, astronomy

2) law

7) geography

3) education

8) history

4) medicine

9) literature

5) information

10) philosophy.

Since my material did not include any news text, the news class was not included. Similarly, popular science, travel and adventure were excluded from the classes as these types of text did not appear in the material. Bennett does not discuss philosophical texts in connection with his varieties in the volumes, so a new class was created to make the classification more suitable for my material. Table 1 below illustrates the variety of books in my data that included an errata list.

	1529– 35	1550– 52	1574– 75	1600	1625	1650	1675	1700	Total
Religion	8	7	5	6	7	10	7	5	55
Law	2			1			1		4
Education					1				1
Medicine			1						1
Information			2		1				3
Mathematics, astronomy		1					1		2
Geography				1					1
History		1	1		1			1	4
Literature		1	1	2			1		5
Philosophy								4	4
Total	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	80

**Table 1** Distribution of early modern books with errata lists by their variety.

As can be seen from Table 1, religious works constituted the majority of the books that included an errata list. Other nine classes included only 25 works in total, out of which literary works were the most frequent with five works. Works concerned with law, history and philosophy were the next most frequent with four

works in total in each class. Next came the class of information with three works. Other classes consisted of only one or two works in each.

Most varieties, that is, religion, law, education, medicine, mathematics and astronomy, geography and philosophy are rather self-explanatory in terms of what kinds of texts they contain. However, some of the varieties, specifically information, history and literature, need clarification. The information class consists of a variety of practical works and manuals dealing with everyday information. Bennett discusses works pertaining to, for instance, horsemanship, gardening, husbandry and military manuals (1970, 149–58). The three information works in my material were concerned with introductions into military discipline (STC (2nd ed.) / 17388), seafaring (STC (2nd ed.) / 3422) and falconry (STC (2nd ed.) / 24324). The historical texts, according to Bennett, include works on the history of countries and people (1970, 172–79). The four historical texts in my material included a biography (Wing / P2025), histories of Exeter (STC (2nd ed.) / 24886) and Virginia (STC (2nd ed.) / 22790a), as well as a description of the Peloponnesian war (STC (2nd ed.) / 24056). The literature class then, in Bennett's words includes "the reading matter for entertainment, for relaxation and for mental nourishment and stimulation" (1970, 189). These works of entertainment, according to Bennett, include poetry and drama as well as writings in prose (1970, 189–98). My material includes two works of prose fiction (STC (2nd ed.) / 19905 and STC (2nd ed.) / 4954), two works of poetry (STC (2nd ed.) / 378 and Wing / C6380A) and one work of drama (STC (2nd ed.) / 11643).

The traditional literary division into prose, drama and poetry can be seen in the material of this study. However, as Keenan notes, by the sixteenth century English was the common language of writings, and prose was the prevalent and most diverse printed genre (2008, 192). Keenan's prose works include all the books, fictional or non-fictional, that are not drama or poetry. In this sense, a clear majority of the errata lists in this study appeared in works of prose with only one work of drama and two works of poetry, as mentioned above. As the sample size is so small in this study, nothing definitive can be said about the proportion of prose works in the early modern England, but the results seem to support the idea of the dominance of prose. Certainly, in the light of my material, it seems that between the early sixteenth century and the eighteenth century, errata lists appeared especially in non-fictional works of prose. Keenan notes that English prose fiction is essentially a Renaissance creation, as prior to the sixteenth century narratives in English were typically written in verse

(2008, 195). My material included only two fictional prose works and two poetic works, so nothing definitive can be concluded.

In the early modern period, prose was used to address a variety of subject areas from religion, history and politics, to travel and domestic life (Keenan 2008, 192). Religious writing was dominant in the medieval times and secular writings were not produced in equal amounts (Bennett 1970, 87). The importance of religious writing continued to the early modern period, as well, as a large portion of the books produced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century were religious texts, and the rest consisted of, for instance, law, geography, travel, news, scientific writing and educational works (Bennett 1965, 269–70). These aspects are visible in the present study's material, as well, as the errata lists appeared in books with different subject areas, although most errata lists appeared in religious texts, with the total of 55 religious and 25 secular works between the years 1529 and 1700. The proportion of religious texts ranged from 50 to 100 percent within each time period studied. Based on the present material, there does not seem to be a trend in any direction with the proportions of religious and secular texts from 1529 to 1700, but the proportions seem to alter randomly, with the average number of 6.9 religious texts per time period.

There does not seem to be any definite pattern in the distribution of books containing errata lists by their topic area, apart from that most works that included an errata list were religious. However, it cannot be concluded that religious works would have been especially likely to include an errata list, but rather that religious works were simply very common. As Bennett notes, demand for religious texts was considerable, and some 40 percent of printers' output would have been of religious kind (1965, 269). However, religion was an important part of early modern life, and perhaps religious writers were especially prone to acknowledging errors, and thus retaining their reputation. The same could also be said about the other varieties of books, as books pertaining to law or philosophy or other learned works could be thought to include an errata list to maintain scholarly reputation.

## **5.2 Placement of the Errata Lists**

All of the errata lists in my material are situated in either the front or back matter of the book, that is to say before or after the actual content of the book or the text itself, although the placement varied within the front and back matters. The reasons for the

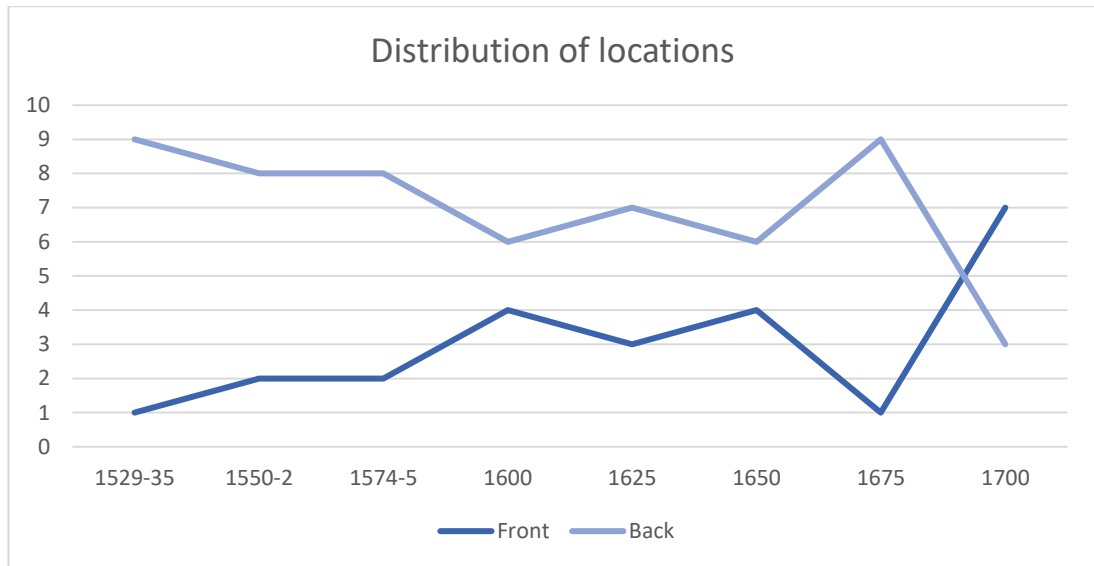
errata lists being either before or after the body of the text are connected to early printing practices. As was noted in 2.2 several pages of the book could be printed on one sheet and folded to form a gathering (Hunter 2007, 26–27). These gatherings would then be bound to form a book. The errata list was a method for correcting errors after the printing was completed and thus could only be added to the beginning or end of the book as a separate sheet (Hunter 2007, 28), as re-printing a whole gathering after the book was already been printed would have been too expensive and time-consuming. Adding an errata list was seen as a solution for this.

The placement within the front matter alternated between two positions and within the back matter between four positions. In the front matter, the errata lists could be positioned in the middle of the texts that belonged to the front matter, such as in STC (2nd ed.) / 13065, where the errata list follows the title-page and two dedicatory letters that are in turn followed by the table of contents. The other position in the front matter was the last page, where the errata list was the last text of the front matter, as in STC (2nd ed.) / 378, where the errata list followed the title-page, a dedicatory letter, a letter to the reader and “a table of all the speciall matters” which resembles an index.

Within the back matter then, the errata lists were positioned as the first, last or only text in the whole back matter, or anywhere between the first and last text of the back matter. The errata list in Wing / H2452 is positioned as the first text of the back matter and is followed by a postscript. An example of an errata list in the middle of the back matter can be found in STC (2nd ed.) / 935 where the back matter consists of a table of contents, the errata list, an illustration and a colophon (statement that contains information on the book’s publication, such as the publisher and the place and date of publication). The errata list in Wing / L986 is placed as the last text of the back matter where it is preceded by a general index of words and an index of Greek words. STC (2nd ed.) / 24056 provides an example of an errata list that appears as the only text in the back matter. Table 2 presents the distribution of errata lists in the front and back matters.

	1529– 35	1550– 52	1574– 75	1600	1625	1650	1675	1700	Total
Front	1	2	2	4	3	4	1	7	24
Back	9	8	8	6	7	6	9	3	56
Total	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	80

**Table 2** Distribution of early modern errata lists by their location in the book.



**Figure 6** Distribution of early modern errata lists by their location in the book.

As Table 2 and Figure 6 illustrate, the back matter was a much more common location for the errata list, as 70 percent (n=56), of the errata lists were located in the back matter. Out of the four locations within the back matter, the errata list as the only text in the back matter was the most common, with the total of 22 instances in total between the years 1529 and 1700. The total number of errata lists in the other positions within the back matter varied with 17 instances of errata lists as the last text, 11 instances as the first text and 6 instances of errata lists in the middle of the back matter. Out of the 24 errata lists in the front matter, the majority with 17 instances were at the end of the front matter, with only 7 errata lists in the middle of the front matter.

Based on these results, there does not seem to be a clear trend in placing the errata list in the front or back matter throughout the eight time periods. However, it seems that the front matter was especially rare in the first three time periods, after which it becomes slightly more common, even though in 1675 there is only one errata lists in the front matter. More material needs to be studied in order to determine any definitive trends in the placement of the errata list. The year 1700 also deserves a more comprehensive study as the distribution of the errata lists changes radically compared

to the earlier time periods. As can be seen from Table 2 and Figure 6, throughout the eight time periods from 1529 to 1700 the common trend seems to have been to position the errata list at the end of the book. The only exception occurs in the year 1700, where most of the errata lists in that year were situated in the front of the book, with only 3 errata lists in the back matter.

It seems that the placement of the errata list within the back matter was more adjustable than in the front matter where the errata list was not to be found as the first or only piece of text. This is presumably connected to the composition of the book and paratexts that had established their places in the early modern book production. The title-page is probably the best known of the several changes that printing brought in the composition of books. With a few exceptions, manuscripts in the Middle Ages did not include a title-page, but it was added to the book soon after printing became the principal way to produce books in the fifteenth century (Smith 2000, 11, 25). All books in my material contained a title-page as the first text in the front matter. Saenger notes that the front matter functions as an advertisement for the book ([2005] 2016, 197), so it is only reasonable to expect that the errata list does not appear as the first or only text in the front matter.

According to Sherman, the errata list almost always comes after the final “Finis” (2011, 75), Latin for ‘end’, which was used often in middle English and early modern English periods to denote the end of the text. This is also true of the errata lists in the back matter: 49 of the 56 errata lists in the back matter appeared after the final “Finis” (n=35) or other similar ending phrase, such as “Amen” (n=7), “The End” (n=3) and “Thus/Here endeth...” (n=4). Only three errata lists appeared before the final “Finis,” and four books did not provide any ending phrases. As was briefly discussed in Chapter 2, Sherman positions the errata list among other terminal paratexts, such as postscripts, epilogues or any other features that have been used to mark the ending of a book (2011, 65, 75). However, as can be seen from Table 2, the errata list is not necessarily a feature marking the end of text, as 30 percent of the errata lists were situated in the front matter.

### **5.3 Headings of the Errata Lists**

The early modern English errata lists exemplify a variety of headings that indicate the errors and their corrections. However, two main groups could be found in the material.

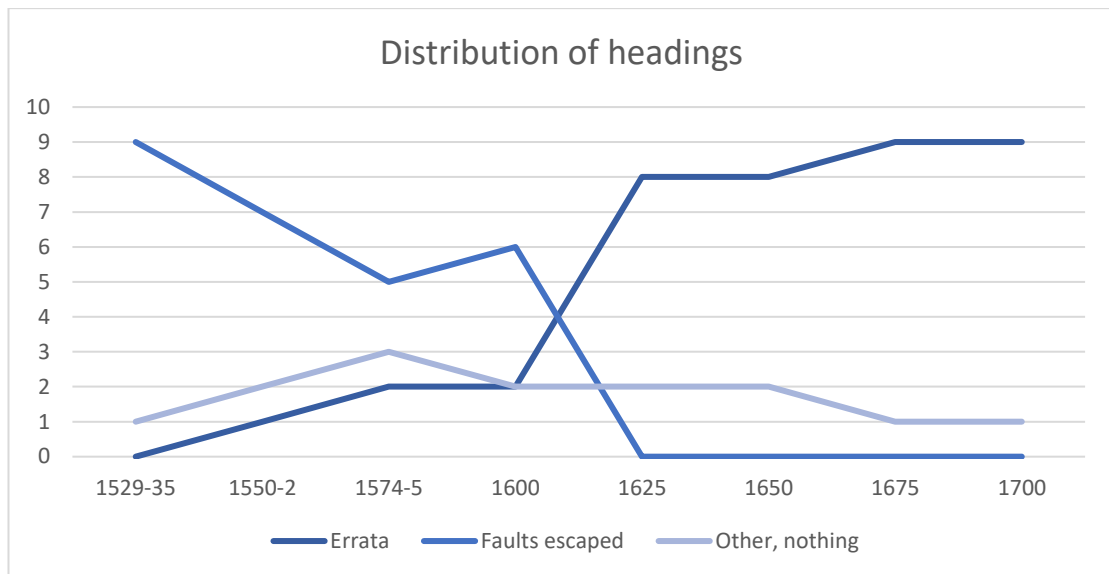


The first group consists of errata lists that are titled *Errata*, and the second group consists of errata lists that are titled *Faults escaped in printing*, although the spelling and the actual wording may vary, especially in the latter one. The word ‘errata’ and the phrase ‘faults escaped in printing’ were discussed in more detail in 2.1.

The headings in the errata lists titled *Errata* were very uniform in their spelling, as almost all of them were written with capital letters, apart from the year 1625 when most of the headings capitalised the first letter only. Also the few early errata lists titled *Errata* before 1625 often capitalised the first letter only. The errata lists in the other group, *Faults escaped in printing*, contained more variation in their headings. For example, the errata list of STC (2nd ed.) / 18079 from 1532 is titled “The fawtes escaped in the pryntyng” whereas the errata list from the same author in 1533 (STC (2nd ed.) / 18078) is titled “The fautes escaped in the prentyng of this Apology.” The form “Faultes escaped in the print” (e.g. STC (2nd ed.) / 3548) is also a common variant together with the short “Faultes escaped” (e.g. STC (2nd ed.) / 1891.5). Other headings that did not fit into these two groups were placed into a third category of ‘other/nothing.’ This category included errata lists that did not have headings, such as in STC (2nd ed.) / 14333, or they were simply titled “Certen fautes” as in STC (2nd ed.) / 22819, or the heading of the errata list is incorporated in a short text such as in Wing / H169: “The Reader is desired to correct the following ERRATA, occasioned by the Publishers necessary absence from the Press.” Table 3 and Figure 7 below present a general overview of the number of each type of heading in the errata lists.

	1529– 35	1550– 52	1574– 75	1600	1625	1650	1675	1700	Total
<i>Errata</i>	0	1	2	2	8	8	9	9	40
<i>Faults escaped</i>	9	7	5	6	0	0	0	0	26
Other, nothing	1	2	3	2	2	2	1	1	14
Total	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	80

**Table 3** Distribution of early modern English errata lists by their headings.



**Figure 7** Distribution of early modern English errata lists by their headings.

As shown in Table 3, exactly half of the errata lists in my material were titled *Errata*, whereas *Faults escaped* and other/nothing were the titles of 32.5 percent (n=26) and 17.5 percent (n=14) of the errata lists, respectively. It seems that the word *errata* had established its use in the seventeenth century, whereas *Faults escaped* was the common way to refer to the errata list before the seventeenth century. The period between 1600 and 1625 seems to be the divider of these two conventions of titling, as *Faults escaped* seems to disappear completely from use by the year 1625. Further research would be needed to address the reason for the disappearance of *Faults escaped* and the dominance of *Errata* after 1600.

The overall frequency of the headings *Errata* and *Faults escaped* could be partly due to the methods utilised in procuring the data. The search methods for finding the errata lists were discussed in more detail in 4.2. Due to the fact that the errata lists were searched for with the query terms ‘errata’ and ‘faults escaped,’ these were naturally the most frequent results. The EEBO-TCP (discussed in 4.1) allowed queries from transcribed full-text documents, meaning that errata lists retrieved from EEBO-TCP were titled *Errata* or *Faults escaped* as these were the query terms that found hits in the documents. Out of the 80 errata lists, 57.5 percent (n=46) were retrieved from EEBO-TCP. Rest of the errata lists were not found via hits in the document itself, as EEBO provides only unsearchable images, but via the word “errata” in the document record: occasionally the document record includes notes on the book, for example the inclusion of an errata list is indicated with the word “errata.” This means that the errata lists retrieved through EEBO were not necessarily titled

*Errata* or *Faults escaped* at all. This made possible that the material could include errata lists that were titled something else too.

## 5.4 Presentation of Errors and Corrections

The presentation of errors in the errata lists refers to the layout of the errata list, in other words, how the errors and their corrections are presented on the page, as well as how the errors and the information how to find them in the text are listed. Two ways of listing appears in the errata lists: either the lists include both the error and its correction or only the correction with the information on how to find the error in the text. For instance, the information including both the error and its correction was commonly presented as “p. 141. l. 6. Preach’d, r. Preaching.” (Wing / B726A), where the page and line numbers are indicated by corresponding abbreviations, followed by the error and its correction, with the “r.” standing for “read.” To present only the correction, a common way was to write, for example, “fo. 65. pa. I. li. 9. dyspleafed.” (STC (2nd ed.) / 1273.5), where the abbreviations “fo.” (folio number), “pa.” (“page,” here denotes the side of the leaf, i.e. recto or verso) and “li.” (line number) refer to the places in the text where the word is to be corrected. Most errata lists adopted only one style of either presenting only the corrections or the errors together with their corrections, but some errata lists contained both kinds of styles, depending on the length or type of word or phrase to be corrected. Often in the errata lists that combine both styles short single-word errors are presented together with their corrections and longer phrases are presented with the correction only.

Many of the errata lists had similar layouts that were divided into *horizontal lists*, *vertical lists* and *tables*. Figures 8, 9 and 10 present examples of each layout, respectively. The distribution of errata lists by their layouts is presented in Table 4 after the layout examples.

**P**Ag. 2. in the margent, for preparation reade patterne. pag. 3. line 10. for them, reade him. and in the margent Scheninah. pag. 6. line 19. reade, giueth any an. pag. 19. line 27. that, for the pag. 27. line 24. let the comma after parts. pag. 39. line 15. reade benefit. pag. 33. lin. penult. reade Bethauen. pag. 42. lin. 5. for all reade al. pag. 49. line 15. reade, not onely mutually pag. 50. line 11. reade more bound. pag. 51 in the margent reade Thahhaudem. pag. 52. line penult. for containe reade con- cecue. pag. 53 and 54. reade rites for rights. pag. 63. last line, for fasting reade feasting. pag. 74 line 16. time. is for tune. pag. 75. line 19. reade hunting. pag. 84. line 21. for flow- ly, reade loosely. pag. 87 line 22. put out and. pag. 89. line 29. heavenly for heauy. pag. 98. line. 6. reade, God was, call, &c. pag. 100 line 13. put out the word this. pag. 101. line

Figure 8 An example of a horizontal list layout, an excerpt from STC (2nd ed.) / 366 from 1600.

Figure 8 above illustrates the main characteristics of the horizontal list layout. The errata list in STC (2nd ed.) / 366 is a very typical horizontal list where errors and their corrections are presented continuously right after each other, with the page and line numbers indicating the start of a new error. The errata list in Figure 8 blends both kinds of styles of presenting only corrections and presenting both errors and their corrections. For example, the first line in Figure 8 reads “for preparation reade patterne,” but line four reads only “reade benefit.” Most errata lists with the horizontal list layout (28 out of 51) listed both the error and its correction, whereas 11 lists listed only the correction and 12 mixed both styles.

In the second Chorus line. 5. for cares, reade tares.  
In the same Chorus line. 16. for then, reade them.  
In the second page of ff. line. 16. for kinswoman, reade  
kinswomen.  
In the third page of ff. line. 18. for your, reade our.  
In the first page of A. line. 6. for foze is no foze, reade, foze  
is no foze.  
In the eighth page of A. line. 4. for gannier reade Gram-  
mer.  
In the seconde page of L. for vnto Walsgraue, reade, vnto  
the Walsgraue.

Figure 9 An example of a vertical list layout, an excerpt from STC (2nd ed.) / 11643 from 1575.

Figure 9 provides an example of a vertical list layout where each error and its correction are listed vertically. Each entry is indicated by the start of a new line, unlike in the horizontal list layout. The errata list in Figure 9 uses indentation to distinguish the entries from one another, but this is not a necessary feature in the vertical list layout. A majority of the errata list with vertical list layout (7 out of 9) did not feature indentation, but the right-hand margins were justified. The errata list in

Figure 9 lists both the error and its correction which was the most common style of presenting the word or phrase in need of correction (8 out of 9). Only one errata list with a vertical list layout listed only the correction. The vertical list layout takes up more space on the page than the horizontal list layout but appears clearer to the modern reader.

Page.	Line.	Faults in the Preface	Corrections.
1.	14	then	they
3.	1	provided that it be	although
3.	26	word	wood
4.	26	will	willeth
4.	34	whatsoever	which also
6.	6	through the fight.	out of the fight
6.	24	not by nūber, not by	not by succession not
		succession of Bishops	by nūber of Bishops
8.	35	sonne perdition	sonne of perdition
8.	38	insufficiencie	sufficiencie
9.	39	Cyprian	Cyrril
30.	2	bolfred	halffred

**Figure 10** An example of a table layout, an excerpt from STC (2nd ed.) / 18142 from 1600.

An example of the third layout category, table, is presented in Figure 10 with an excerpt from the errata list in STC (2nd ed.) / 18142. The table layout resembles the vertical list layout in its format, but the information is arranged in separate rows and columns whereas the same information is presented continuously, though in separate lines, in the vertical list layout. The errata lists in all three categories are very homogenous in terms of their appearance and layouts, although the table category includes slightly more varying formatting. The layout in Figure 10 features a clear table with borders separating each column, but some of the tables are not as distinct. For instance, the errata list in STC (2nd ed.) / 11594 from 1534 features a less distinct table, where the columns are not perfectly aligned. However, it is still clearly a table with distinct rows and columns rather than a vertical list. Many of the tables do not have borders but the page and line numbers and the errors and their corrections are only aligned vertically with white spaces separating the columns. Most errata lists with table the layout listed both the error and its correction (n=14), whereas four listed only the correction and one featured mixed style.

	1529– 35	1550– 52	1574– 75	1600	1625	1650	1675	1700	Total
List, horizontal	4	5	3	4	10	9	9	7	51
List, vertical	1	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	9
Table	5	3	2	4	0	1	1	3	19
Other	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	80

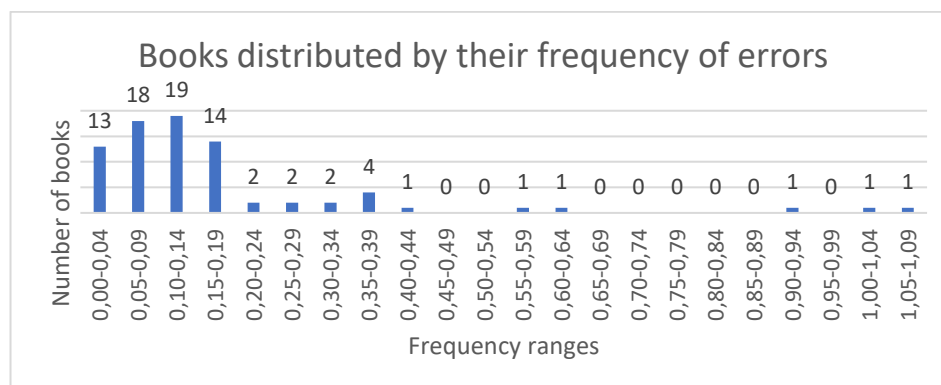
**Table 4** Distribution of early modern English errata lists by their layouts.

Table 4 above presents an overview of the types of layout used in the errata lists. As can be seen from Table 4, the horizontal list layout is the most common one in my material with 51 instances which is over 60 percent of the errata lists. The horizontal list layout seems to be very common in all the time periods from 1529 to 1700, but especially so starting from the year 1625 when the horizontal list layout becomes the most common type of layout in each year. The table layout with 19 occurrences is the second most common layout in the errata lists. The table layout is more common in the errata lists from 1529–1600. After the year 1600, it becomes much less used with only 5 instances in total between the years 1650 and 1700. The vertical list layout with only 9 instances is the least common one of the layouts and is used only in the first four time periods. The disappearance of the vertical list layout and the popularity of the horizontal list layout coincide with the disappearance of the title “faults escaped” and the popularity of the title “errata” which were discussed in 5.3. These two events seem to be connected by their occurrence at the same time, although nothing definite can be said about their connection due to the limited amount of data available in this study. The one errata list within the *other* category did not fit into any of the three categories as the errors were listed inside a letter to the reader.

## 5.5 The Frequency of Errors

This section is concerned with the frequency of errors in the books. That is, on average, how many errors per page the books contain when counted by dividing the number of errors in the errata list by the number of pages in the book. Figure 11 presents the frequencies of errors which have been grouped for more clarity. The frequency of

errors in the books examined range from 0.01<sup>5</sup> to 1.07 errors per page but 80 percent (n=64) of the books centre around the lower numbers between 0.00 and 0.19 errors per page, as can be seen in Figure 11. The frequency of errors in the other 16 books is distributed between 0.20 and 1.07.



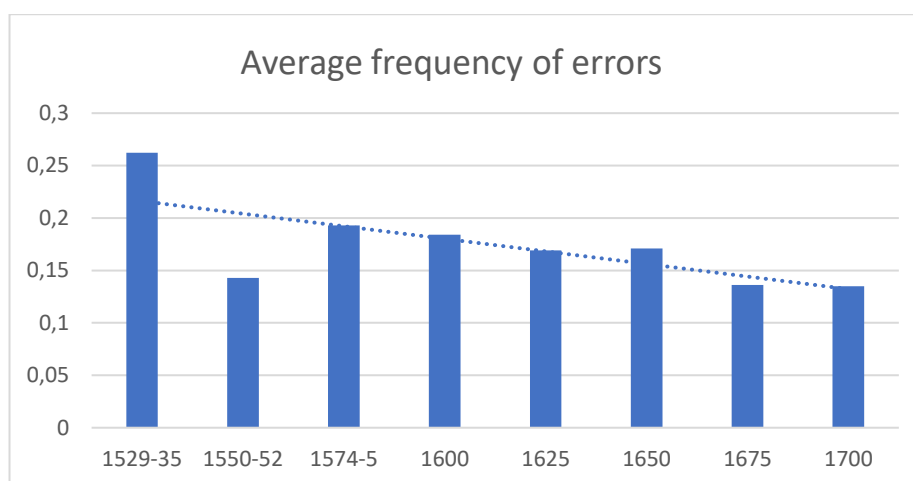
**Figure 11** Distribution of the error frequencies.

The three books with the highest average frequency of errors are STC (2nd ed.) / 18142 from 1600 with 1.07 errors per page, STC (2nd ed.) / 18084 from 1529 with 1.01 errors per page and STC (2nd ed.) / 24886 from 1575 with 0.93 errors per page. The fourth highest value is only 0.63 errors per page (Wing / C5399 from 1700). The two books with the highest frequencies are religious works with 484 and 252 pages, respectively. The religious topic can be expected, since most books studied here were religious in 1600 and 1529–1535. The book with the third highest frequency of errors, however, is a historical work with 30 pages. The 13 books with the lowest frequency of errors constitute of nine religious, two historical and two other works pertaining to geography and law. Longer errata lists could be expected to be included in these works, as they all address subjects that need precision. However, a short errata list does not necessarily mean carelessness or indifference, as it can also mean careful printing. A long errata list, on the other hand, can even be evidence of neglected proofreading at the printing stage, as Greg notes (1937, 191). Based on this study, however, it is impossible to say whether the authors and printers were especially meticulous or indifferent with noticing and correcting errors.

The average frequency of errors in each time period ranged from 0.26 to 0.14, as can be seen from Figure 12 below. According to the trendline in Figure 12, the average frequency of errors seems to be decreasing. The present sample is quite

<sup>5</sup> The results have been rounded to the nearest hundredth.

small, with only ten errata lists from each time period, but the graph reveals that there has been a gradual decline in the frequency of errors. The average frequency of errors seems to have been at its peak in 1529–35 but fallen to a low point in 1550–52. From 1700 onward, the frequency of errors is likely to have continued decreasing.



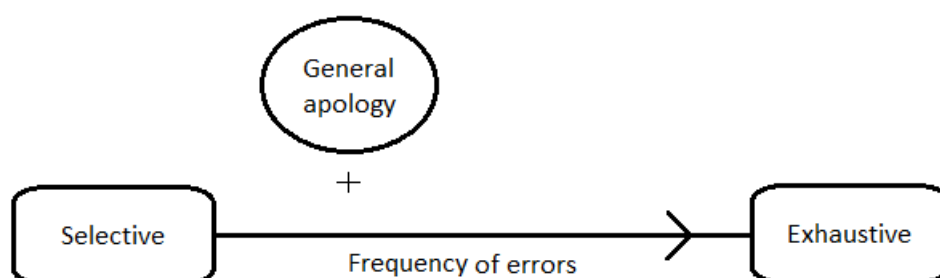
**Figure 12** The average frequency of errors between 1529 and 1700.

The frequency of errors is connected to Blair's (2007) classification of errata lists into *exhaustive lists* and *general apologies*, which were discussed in more detail in 2.2. The exhaustive errata lists are long and detailed, often including all types of errors. The general apology offers an apology for possible errors and a request for the reader to correct any mistakes, occasionally coupled with a short list of errors. Blair's classification is very general and has limited utility with respect to the material of the present study. Most errata lists in my material could not be classified as exhaustive lists or general apologies, which suggests that Blair's categorisation is too narrow and dichotomous and does not take into account the variation in the errata lists. It is important to note that my material is concentrated around the actual errors and their corrections, meaning that there will automatically be fewer general apologies. This is due to the fact that all such general apologies that are not accompanied by a list of errors have been excluded in the process of selecting the material for this study. However, there are some general apologies in the material, but perhaps not as much as if the obtaining of data would have been executed otherwise.

One major issue arose from Blair's classification in relation to my material: determining what kind of errata list qualifies as an exhaustive list. Blair does not mention any criteria for the exhaustive lists but makes a short reference to an errata



list consisting of 350–400 errors in a book with 800 pages, as discussed in 2.2. Based on this example, books that would qualify as having an exhaustive errata list would need to have an average frequency of 0.4–0.5 errors per page. As Figure 11 illustrates, only six errata lists in the 80 books in the present study would have qualified as exhaustive with the frequency 0.4 or more. These results indicate that Blair’s classification is not fully sufficient or adequate for my material. To overcome this problem, I propose a different kind of model for classifying the errata lists based on the frequency of errors. Figure 13 below demonstrates this model.



**Figure 13** Model for classifying errata lists by the frequency of errors.

Rather than having two distinct classes like the exhaustive list and the general apology in Blair’s classification, this model consists of a continuum between two extremes, the *selective errata list* and the *exhaustive errata list*. The selective end of the continuum includes errata lists that have a low average number of errors per page, in other words, a low frequency of errors. The exhaustive end in turn includes errata lists with a high average frequency of errors. Therefore, errata lists with only a few errors and errata lists with very many errors are not automatically located in the opposite ends of the spectrum, since the selectiveness or exhaustiveness is connected to the number of pages in the book, as well. Each errata list is thus located somewhere along the continuum instead of a specific category with clear defined boundaries.

The general apology that forms the second class in Blair’s classification has also been taken into consideration in this model. However, instead of being a specific class, it is now viewed as a separate entity that may or may not be included in the blurb (short introductory texts accompanying the errata lists) preceding the errata list. The general apology in this model is an optional part of an errata list but is connected to the selective end of the continuum. A selective errata list does not necessarily appear together with a general apology and vice versa, but often they do occur together due to the nature of the general apology. As Blair mentions, the general

apology is a quicker alternative that ignores minor errors by offering an apology and a request to correct the errors in the reader's own copy (2007, 32). Thus, it could be said that the function of the general apology is to save the author or printer from writing a comprehensive errata list by stating the few most important errors and asking the reader to correct the rest.

## 5.6 Types of Individual Errors

Since ascribing one error to a single cause is nearly impossible, as was discussed in 2.3, I have opted to classify the errors in my data into four classes that are essentially the same as van Berkel and De Smedt's typographical errors: *omission*, *addition*, *substitution* and *transposition*. However, I argue that these four types of errors are not necessarily typographical, as van Berkel and De Smedt claim but the same kind of end products can be results of orthographical errors and for many different reasons, that is, both cognitive and motoric errors may result in identical words. As Bland mentions in relation to variants in print, most of them (in this case errors) can be explained as a result of one or another specific act or process, however different the variants are as examples of their kinds (2010, 160).

In addition to classifying errors by their type, I have also addressed the level of the error. That is, whether the error appears in character level, word level, or above word level. Character-level errors appear within words, and van Berkel and De Smedt's typographical errors (deletion, insertion, substitution and transposition) presented in 2.3 provide examples of these, although they themselves call these word-level errors (1998, 77). Here word-level errors refer to errors that affect the whole word, for example, in the case of deletion, the whole word is deleted instead of a single letter. Above word-level errors refer to errors that affect larger constructions than single words, such as phrases or sentences. Next, a few examples from the error types and levels are introduced.

type	error	correction	book	year
omission	wondefull	wonderfull	STC (2nd ed.) / 1891.5	1600
addition	one	on	Wing (2nd ed.) / H410	1650
substitution	de	be	STC (2nd ed.) / 18078	1533
transposition	miage	image	STC (2nd ed.) / 4954	1600

**Table 5** Examples of character-level errors.

Table 5 presents examples of the four types of character-level errors. In the case of omission, the word “wondefull” is missing an <r> and has been corrected to “wonderfull”. This kind of simple omission of a letter is a common type of mistake in the errata lists, as is the simple addition of one letter that is demonstrated by the example where an additional letter <e> has been added to the intended word “on.” The character-level substitution can be seen in the pair “de” – “be,” where the letter <d> has been corrected to <b> in the errata list. These kinds of character-level substitutions may be a result of a type being in the wrong case, as explained in 2.3, or sometimes types may be exchanged to similar-looking types. In the example of a character-level transposition the letters <i> and <m> have changed places in the word “miage”.

type	error	correction	book	year
omission	It is all together	It is not all together	STC (2nd ed.) / 24886	1575
addition	could not make	could make	Wing / D471	1700
substitution	sacrament	remembrance	STC (2nd ed.) / 5991	1551
transposition	is it	it is	Wing / H169	1675

**Table 6** Examples of word-level errors.

Table 6 presents examples of the four error types at the word level, that is to say, a whole word is added, removed or otherwise changed. A word-level omission can be found in the example where “It is all together” has been corrected to “It is not all together”. Word-level addition can be found in the example where “could not make” has been corrected to “could make”, or in Wing / B726A from 1675 where “as as” has been corrected to “as.” This kind of dittography, the repetition of a letter

or word, seemed especially common in this book. Word-level substitution can be found in the example where the word “sacrament” has been replaced by “remembrance”. As mentioned above, determining whether errors are typographical or orthographical is impossible without any further knowledge of the situation. Additionally, with these kinds on word-level substitutions it is difficult to classify them either as typographical or orthographical since the words are very different from each other. This kind of substitution could perhaps be better described as a lexical error. Other examples of word-level substitutions can be found, for example, in STC (2nd ed.) / 18474 from 1625 where the word “wholly” has been corrected to “holy,” or in Wing / H169 from 1675 where the word “bow” has been corrected to “bough.” These kinds of substitutions where the words are phonologically similar would be possible to categorise as orthographical errors (in van Berkel and De Smedt’s terms) that rise from ignorance or failure of memory. Word-level transposition can be found in the example where the words “it is” have been transposed to “is it”.

Some errata lists included various changes in longer parts of text that could not be easily categorised as omissions, additions, substitutions or transpositions, as in STC (2nd ed.) / 18142 from 1600, which had various revisions and changes to the text. For example, to the excerpt “because the word dwelleth in him” has been added the words “of God” after “the word.” This could be said to be an above word-level omission as the words “of God” are added to the text. However, most of the changes affecting longer parts of text than single words in STC (2nd ed.) / 18142 were too complex to categorise. For example, the excerpt “Thou canst not looke for him any more at hād, for he is in heauen, looke for him by faith” has been corrected to “Thou canst not touch or reach him anie more with thy hand, touch him or reach him vnto thee by the hand of faith” and includes various types of changes. These kinds of doctrinal corrections were authors’ way of modifying their work.

It must also be noted, that some errors did not fit into the above-mentioned categories at all. For example, the errata list in Wing / A3147 (1650) includes a correction to font choice: “the Paragraph should be in *Italique* [italics].” Other examples include word merging, where the words “so muche” have merged into “sumuch” (STC (2nd ed.) / 11592 from 1551) and word separation, as in Wing (2nd ed.) / S3005 (1700) where the words “wherei nour” has been corrected to “wherein our.”

## 5.7 Prescriptive Corrections

This section is concerned with the connection between errata lists and prescriptivism and provides a compact survey of the types of corrections in the errata lists that could be said to show prescriptive ideas and attitudes from the standpoint of the composer of the errata list (the author, editor, compositor or whoever created the errata list for the book). Two different types of prescriptive corrections stood out from the errata lists: corrections to orthographical norms and corrections to grammar and incorrect language use. Corrections to the orthography include, for example, different spellings of the same word as well as corrections to the use of punctuation marks. The latter type of prescriptive correction includes more miscellaneous corrections that are connected, for instance, to verb tenses and prepositions.

The errata lists show a variety of errors and corrections that are linked to different spellings of the same word and that could be connected to individual composer's role and preferences. A religious book concerning Quakers from 1675 (Wing / B726A), for example, has one interesting case where the word "blace" has been corrected to "black". The word 'blace' is an Old English form of 'black' (*OED*, s.v. "black," adj. and n.). A search from the EEBO-TCP revealed that the word 'blace' has also been used in other seventeenth-century works to denote the colour black. For example, a 1661 sermon reads as: "is white as the Virgin-clay, but being brought to the smoaky Furnace, is presently sullied, smooted, and contracts a blace hue" (Nicholson 1661, 451). Another example can be found from a 1639 poem by Nathaniel Whiting: "From what blace heads these bitter cadents flow" (Whiting 1639, 112). The same excerpt has been written as "From what black heads these bitter cadents flow" in a 1905 book "Minor Poets of the Caroline Period" (Saintsbury 1905, 517). The *OED* does not list 'blace' as an early modern spelling, but it could be that 'blace' was a regional form of 'black' that the author wanted to use but the printer saw 'black' as a better word, or vice versa. Or perhaps 'blacke,' a common spelling that appears in many early modern examples in the *OED* entry for "black" (*OED*, s.v. "black," adj. and n), was the intended form, but the <k> was omitted and later corrected to "black."

Another interesting case of spelling variation is found in Wing / C6380A (1675) where the word "Comrades" has been corrected to "Camrades." Both spellings were in use in the early modern period, although the form 'comrade' seems to have been more popular, judged by the number of examples in which each spelling appeared

in the *OED* (*OED*, s.v. “comrade,” n.). It is thus interesting that the author of the errata list thought ‘camrade’ better or more correct than ‘comrade.’ The same errata list has a similar case of two different spellings of the same word that were in use at the same time. The word “Impostours” has been corrected in the errata list to “Impostures.” Both ‘impostour’ and ‘imposture’ were used in the seventeenth century (*OED*, s.v. “impostor,” n.), so it seems that the choice of spelling depended on the author’s or compositor’s preference.

An earlier example of spelling variation comes from 1551 (STC (2nd ed.) / 11592) where the form “impro” has been corrected to “improe.” Both forms of the verb were in use in the sixteenth century, although the form “improe” seems to be more common when the number of examples for each spelling in the *OED* are compared (*OED*, s.v. “improve,” v.<sup>2</sup>). Interestingly, the same errata list has a similar case with the word “saue” that has been corrected to “sawe,” although this time the form with <w> is the preferred one. These words are both forms of the past tense of the verb *see*, and were used in the sixteenth century (*OED*, s.v. “see,” v.). Another sixteenth-century example can be found in the errata list in STC (2nd ed.) / 22819 from 1550 where the word “life” has been corrected to “lyfe.” According to the *OED*, these words have, again, been in use at the same time in the sixteenth century (*OED*, s.v. “life,” n.). The graphemes <i> and <y> had become alternative symbols by the end of the old English period and remained so even until the Elizabethan era (Scragg 1974, 11, 71).

Examples of prescriptive corrections concerning punctuation can be found in Wing / D471 from 1700 where the errata list includes three erroneous punctuation marks: a missing comma, an extra semicolon and a missing full stop. Another errata list, Wing / L2742, from 1700 has seven corrections relating to punctuation, for example, two commas changed to a semicolon and full stops changed to colons or semicolons. The end of the studied time periods seems to be very productive in terms of corrections to punctuation. Salmon notes, that in the late sixteenth century, orthography and the norms for spelling and punctuation become ever increasingly a matter of expertise among printers and compositors (1999, 44). Perhaps this serves a reason for the great interest in correcting punctuation around 1700.

Before 1700, punctuation practices were not much addressed in the studied errata lists. However, an errata list from 1600 (STC (2nd ed.) / 366) has one

correction to punctuation where a comma has been set to wrong place: “grace on our parts only, for Christs sake” has been corrected to “grace on our parts, only for Christs sake.” Religious and other texts that needed to be unambiguous were traditionally interested in punctuation (Salmon 1999, 47). After printed books became more common, punctuation marks became aids for the reader to understand the text better. As with the previous example, punctuation marks can make a difference in the way texts are read, and thus it can be more expected that their use is controlled and prescribed in religious texts whose authors or printers want to retain good reputation, as was discussed in Chapter 2. Before 1600, there are no corrections to punctuation in the studied errata lists. According to Salmon, the first theoretical attempt to codify English orthography was published in the late sixteenth century (1999, 32). Perhaps punctuation conventions were more indifferent in the beginning of the early modern period, so they are not commented in the errata lists.

In reference to the error typology presented in section 5.6, the corrections to spellings that were discussed above would be classified as character-level errors concerning mainly single letters. For instance, in the case of “blace” – “black,” “Comrades” – “Camrades,” “saue” – “sawe” and “life” – “lyfe,” the error is a simple substitution of one letter. In the case of “Impostours” – “Impostures,” the error could be described as more complex error constituting of an addition of <o> and an omission of <e>. Similarly, the spelling variation in “improvw” – “improue” could be described as a more complex error that constitutes of a substitution of one letter, together with an addition of one letter. The punctuation errors are simple character-level errors where something is omitted, added or substituted.

In relation to the above-mentioned corrections to punctuation and especially spelling, the author or the compositor of the book may have thought that the ready printed book was good and its punctuation or spelling choices suitable, but perhaps after proofreading the finished text someone (e.g. author, editor) has found unsuitable or incorrect words or spellings that need to be corrected in an errata list. As was discussed in 3.3, compositors and printers did not always follow the spelling of their copies. Punctuation practices in the early modern period varied from one printing house to another, and it was the printer’s or corrector’s decision to follow or not to follow the printer’s copy in terms of spelling and punctuation (McKerrow [1928] 1994, 250). Wide spread of age among the compositors and printers, experience and regional backgrounds in printing houses were significant factors in the context of spelling

variation (Howard-Hill 2006, 19). The spelling of a compositor may have reflected their regional origins, personal preferences or will to perform their work more efficiently (Howard-Hill 2006, 18–19). In other words, the error becomes an error only when another person (or in some cases the same person) deems the word erroneous after the book has been printed and final corrections are made. It could be, that two potential standards are competing with each other at a time when the conception of standard starts to develop. The emergence of standard is closely linked to the existence of prescriptivism, as was discussed in 3.3.

The concept of error in spelling is a comparatively recent development (Rutkowska 2012, 233). Dialectal variation was plenteous in the middle English period, and no orthographic standard, as it is understood in present-day English, existed yet (*ibid.*). Middle English is characterized by a high degree of variation, and a considerable number of linguistic variants can be identified as regionally marked (Williamson 2012, 481). Scragg, for instance, discusses two passages of the Lord's Prayer from the eleventh and twelfth centuries focusing on their dialectal differences. These two passages are written following different regional orthographies where, for instance, the word 'father' has been written as "fader" and "vader," following the voicing of /f/ in initial position in southern and western regions of England (Scragg 1974, 23–24). These two forms of the same word were in use in the same time but in different regions. The variation between different spellings continued also to the early modern period. Bland mentions that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example, "'she' and 'shee', 'beauty' and 'beautie', 'logic', 'logick', and 'logicke', were all accepted as being the same for all intents and purposes" (2010, 160). The spelling variants introduced above could be said to be similar cases that arise from the background and preferences of the compositors. For example, the variants "impro" – "improe" from mid sixteenth century and "Comrade" – "Camrade" from late seventeenth century discussed above had the same meaning and were used in the same context.

In addition to corrections to orthography, the errata lists include other types of corrections that concern grammar and incorrect language use. These kinds of corrections concern incorrect verb forms and prepositions. Unintentional or accidental mistakes in typesetting also offer an explanation for these types of corrections even more than for the previously discussed spelling variants, as they can easily be thought of as involuntary mistakes that would not have been considered correct in the first



place. Then again, these errors could have been correct in the author's or printer's mind, and only later deemed incorrect by the composer of the errata list.

A correction relating to incorrect verb forms can be found in Wing / C5399 (1700, 34) where the word "was" has been corrected to "were" in the phrase "there was greater differences." By 1700, the English syntax had already developed to closely resemble present-day written constructions (Rissanen 1999, 187), and the subject and verb agreed in number, as in present-day English. Other similar corrections to verb agreement in existential constructions can be found in STC (2nd ed.) / 18142 where "was" has been corrected to "were" in two cases where plural form was required together with the dummy subject "there." According to Nevalainen, using *was* with plural subjects in existential constructions was quite common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, after which it became more uncommon (2008, 174–75). STC (2nd ed.) / 18142 also includes other corrections to subject-verb agreement: the words "will" and "haue" have been corrected to "willeth" and "hath" when the third person verb form was required in "Christ [...] will" and "this haue not beene" (1600, A3, 108). The third person singular present indicative marker -(e)th comes from the middle English, but is gradually taken over by -(e)s by the seventeenth century (Lass 1999, 162–63).

An example of a correction regarding prepositions can be found in STC (2nd ed.) / 24324 (1575, 208) where the preposition "in" has been corrected to "to" in "Set youre Sparowhawke [...] in the Sunne." Another correction to preposition can be found in STC (2nd ed.) / 4954 (1600, 44) where the preposition "of" has been corrected to "to" in "this moneth is the fixt of her." Since the old English period, the English language has changed from synthetic to more analytic. Morphological case-markings had largely disappeared in the early modern period, and their functions had been adopted by prepositions and word order (Görlach 1991, 107). In Present-day English, the preposition word class is relatively closed, but in the early modern period, the number of prepositions and prepositional phrases increased, as the need for exactness and accuracy grew due to the increase in written communication (Görlach 1991, 109). Existing prepositions became to be used in more restricted senses and new prepositions were formed to express specific senses. (Görlach 1991, 108–9). Another interesting example of a correction to a preposition can be found in a religious book, Wing (2nd ed.) / H410 (1650, 43), where the preposition "by" has been corrected to "of" in the excerpt "the clouds which are [...] carried by windes." In the early modern period, both

*of* and *by* were used in signalling the agent in passive constructions (Peitsara 1993, 219), such as in the previous example. However, their use had become specialised in reference to what kinds of verbs they appeared with, as well as what kinds of texts they appeared in (Peitsara 1993). Religious texts, such as the above-mentioned Wing (2nd ed.) / H410, would have favoured the *of*-agent (Peitsara 1993, 229).

As for the types of errors these corrections are related to, the “was” – “were” pair is an example of word-level substitution, whereas “will” – “willeth” and “haue” – “hath” pairs could be classified as word-level substitutions or more complex character-level additions and substitutions, respectively. In the case of corrections to prepositions, all the errors could be classified as word-level substitutions.

The above-mentioned corrections to grammar and language use could be connected to the emergence of a written standard in the early modern period and the regional and social distinctions discussed in Chapter 3. As was discussed in 3.3, finite sets of rules concerning, for example, the use of prepositions allowed the writer or printer to include themselves in a social group by following the set of rules. For example, in the case of the “by” – “of” pair discussed above, the use of a certain preposition in a certain type of text could be considered erroneous by the composer of the errata list if they had differing opinions on its correct usage. The grammatical errors presented above could have been deemed erroneous by the composer of the errata list in order to avoid social judgements, as noted in 3.3.

Although the concept of prescriptivism is usually applied to late modern English or present-day English periods and has not been connected to errata lists before, I argue that errata lists can be a form of prescriptivism, in the sense that errata lists include prescriptive features or properties. As was mentioned in Chapter 3, linguistic prescriptivism is often associated with the late modern English period and grammar writing. This, however, does not mean that prescriptivism did not exist earlier (or later, for that matter) or in contexts other than grammar writing. As the previously presented examples indicate, the sense of grammatical correctness and the correct way to write had already developed in the early modern period. As this kind of sense came into existence, so did the ideology of prescriptivism.

Errata lists are a way to correct mistakes and are thus connected to normative ideas of language use and standardisation which were prevalent in the early modern period, after the invention of the printing press. Although categorising errors into typographical or orthographical, without further knowledge of the situation in

which the errors were committed, is highly difficult, it can be safely assumed that all potentially prescriptive corrections in the errata lists are for orthographical errors (as defined by van Berkel and De Smedt (2008), rather than as errors concerning orthography), since typographical errors are by default accidental, as was discussed in 2.3. Thus, prescriptivism is visible in orthographical errors that are connected to a ‘right’ or ‘correct’ way of writing a language. Orthographical errors may not be seen as errors by the author but only by the composer of the errata list, provided that they are not the same person. Without an understanding of grammatically and otherwise correct language use, orthographical errors cannot even be considered erroneous. Although these errors can be explained differently, a sufficient reason for these kinds of errors is that the composer of the errata list has a differing view on the correctness of language or the superiority of one word form over another one.

Drawing explicit attention to errors in print begins in the early 1520s when the first errata lists start to appear in English books. However, attention to error had been voiced half a century before by the English printer William Caxton who claimed to have proofread the 1484 edition of *Canterbury Tales* (Lerer 2002, 21–22). Yet, there does not appear to be anything approaching errata lists from Caxton’s print or from that of his successor, Wynkyn de Worde, although errata lists were coming to be commonplace at the Continent (ibid.). As the errata list establishes its place in the English book, it becomes a way to retain scholarly reputation, as was discussed Chapter 2. Being alert of error means acknowledging that there are correct and incorrect ways to write, which in turn is closely linked to prescriptivism. Errata lists are a way to show that the author or printer is aware of the errors and that the mistakes have been corrected, or sometimes the errors are left for the reader to notice and correct, as was discussed in Chapter 2.4. Rutkowska mentions that people using non-standard forms and committing spelling errors are “likely to be socially punished by being judged uneducated or even unintelligent” in modern education and official written media (2012, 233). The same can be said about the early modern period, as concerns about reputation and reader dissatisfaction lead to explaining away errors and prescribing and promoting one language use over another in fear of social judgement, as discussed in 2.4 and 3.3.

All the above things considered, among its other functions, the errata list is similar to other prescriptive works in its function of promoting one kind of language use over another. Prescriptive works often imply that some usage is incorrect, improper

or is otherwise of low value. Although the errata lists often contained simple typographical errors due to mistakes in typesetting, for example, they also included other kinds of corrections for language use that the composer of the errata list deemed erroneous, such as the errors and their corrections discussed above. Disagreement over spellings leads to prescriptivism in the errata lists, just as it did in the late modern period when grammarians and dictionary writers condemned some usages and advocated the usage of other constructions.

This chapter has addressed errata lists from seven different aspects. First, the variety of books with errata lists was inspected, followed by the placement and headings of errata lists. Then the presentation of errors and their corrections were studied, after which the frequency of errors and the types of individual errors were examined. Lastly, types of prescriptive corrections in the errata lists were inspected, together with a further discussion about the connection of prescriptivism and errata lists.

## **6 Conclusion**

The purpose of this study was to determine some characteristics of the early modern English errata list and whether there has been any change in them over time, as well as inspect the connection between prescriptivism and the corrections of errors in the errata lists. The material for this study consisted of 80 English language errata lists between the years 1529 and 1700, collected from the *Early English Books Online* database as black and white images. Ten errata lists from every 25 years (1529–35, 1550–52, 1574–75, 1600, 1625, 1650, 1675, 1700) were inspected to address the possible change over time.

In this thesis I have examined seven aspects from the errata lists that pertain to (1) the variety of books with errata lists, (2) the placement of the errata inside the book, (3) the headings of the errata lists, (4) the layout of the errata lists and the presentation of errors and corrections, (5) the frequency of errors, (6) types of individual errors and (7) types of prescriptive corrections. Examination of these seven aspects revealed that, overall, early modern English errata lists seem to be a heterogeneous group that display many features that differ from each other, although the lists also share some common features.

The present study revealed that errata lists appear in many different kinds of books (1), although mostly in religious works. Even though most books were religious, it cannot be said that errata lists would be especially common in religious works, because most books at the time were religious. The errata lists could be situated either in the front matter before the main narrative or in the back matter after the main text (2). Apart from the year 1700, the back matter was the most common location for the errata lists in every time period studied. Errata lists have been previously connected mainly to the end of the book, but in total, third of the errata lists in the present study were located in the front of the book. The errata lists also exhibited two patterns of headings (3), *Errata* and *Faults escaped*. The latter heading was more common between the years 1529 and 1600 but fell out of use completely after the year 1600 in this study. The errata lists were also categorised by their layouts into horizontal lists, vertical lists and tables (4). The horizontal list layout appeared in every time period and it was also the most common one in most of the time periods. Vertical list and table layouts appeared mostly between the years 1529 and 1600. The average frequency of errors (5) in the books varied from 1.01 to 1.07 errors per page. The average frequencies were compared against Blair's (2007) classification, but the present data did not fit into her classification, so a new model was created to classify the errata lists by their average frequency of errors. Individual errors in the errata lists (6) were categorised as omissions, additions, substitutions and transpositions, depending on the type of change in the words. The level of the error was also taken into consideration, that is, whether the error appeared inside a word at character level, word level or above the word level. The examination of prescriptive corrections (7) revealed two types of corrections that could be said to be prescriptive: corrections to orthography, such as spelling and punctuation, and grammar, such as verb forms and prepositions. The errors connected to the prescriptive corrections could also be classified according the error typology related to the previous aspect (6).

The inspection of the prescriptive corrections supported the initial idea of errata lists' connection to prescriptivism. Early modern errata lists were created by individual composers, so the errors noted in the errata lists were always connected to the composer's role and preferences. For example, corrections to spelling may reflect the compositor's regional background or personal preferences which may differ from the book's author, or vice versa, depending on who created the errata list. Words considered erroneous also change through time. The use of punctuation marks, for

example, has changed through the early modern period and so has the idea of their correct and incorrect use. Language creates social groups that may have distinctive uses of language. The errata lists are ways for the authors and printers to retain their reputation and avoid social judgements. Prescriptivism can be seen in the corrections to certain errors that differ from the ideas of the errata list's composer, such as spelling variants, as well as grammatical corrections that are related to social behaviour and the condemnation of ungrammatical language. All in all, since errata lists are a way to correct errors, one of their functions could be said to be similar to the function of other prescriptive works that promote one language use over another.

The generalizability of the results is subject to certain limitations, as the current research was conducted with a rather small size of dataset. This means that it is not possible to create a comprehensive view of the early modern errata lists and the works that included them. A larger study would be needed to address, for example, the change over time, as the ten errata lists from 25-year intervals were not enough for generalising the results. This study may also have biased results in relation to the headings of the errata lists. As was discussed in 5.3, the results were partly affected by the methods used in obtaining the material from the database. Further studies on the headings of the errata lists would need to utilise a different method for finding and collecting errata lists so that the results would not depend on the data collection methods. Notwithstanding the relatively limited material, this study offers valuable insights into errata lists in general and their characteristics.

Further research on errata lists as well as their relation to printing practices and error correction would be needed to gain a more comprehensive view on early modern print culture and paratexts. Future studies on errata lists could explore other characteristics of the errata lists that were not possible to study inside the scope of the present study. For example, whether the errata lists formed a gathering of their own or were they part of a gathering that included other texts as well. Also, in relation to the layout of the errata lists, other typographical features, such as the use of different typefaces, or the use of punctuation could be studied to form a better understanding of the visual structuring of the early modern errata list. Correlation between different features of the errata lists would also be worth studying. For instance, whether there is any connection between the type of book and the layout of the errata list or type of errors they include. This study did not address the blurbs preceding the errata lists in

detail, but studying these texts could also shed light on the practices of printing as well as the relationship between authors, printers and readers.

The features discovered in these errata lists are interesting as they reveal something about the early modern print and book culture and add to the growing knowledge of the material features of the book and its paratexts. The present study has laid the groundwork for future research into errata lists and their connection with prescriptivism. I hope that this study and the information gathered in it will be useful in future research on early English books and paratexts, as it offers some basic research on early modern English errata lists that, to date, has not been systematically conducted. Furthermore, I hope this study would encourage more research on prescriptivism in other contexts than late modern English and especially grammar writing.

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## Appendix 1: Material of the Present Study

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*VWhitgifte. Seene and allowed according to the order appoynted in the Queenes Maiesties iniunctions.* London, 1574. EEBO-TCP. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

STC (2nd ed.) / 11410. Fulbecke, William. *A direction or preparatiue to the study of the lawe wherein is shewed, what things ought to be obserued and vsed of them that are addicted to the study of the law, and what on the contrary part ought to be eschued and auoyded.* London, 1600. EEBO-TCP. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

STC (2nd ed.) / 11592. Gardiner, Stephen. *An explicatio[n] and assertion of the true Catholique fayth, touchyng the moost blessed sacrament of the aulter with confutacion of a booke written agaynst the same.* Rouen, 1551. EEBO-TCP. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

STC (2nd ed.) / 11594. Gardynare, Germen. *A letter of a yonge gentylman named mayster Germen Gardynare, wryten to a frend of his, wherin men may se the demeanour [and] heresy of Ioh[a]n Fryth late burned, [and] also the dyspycyo[n]s [and] reasonynge vpon the same, had betwene the same mayster Germen and hym.* London, 1534. EEBO-TCP. British Library.

STC (2nd ed.) / 11643. Gascoigne, George. *The glasse of gouernement A tragicall comedie so entituled, bycause therein are handled aswell the rewardes for vertues, as also the punishment for vices.* London, 1575. EEBO. University of Chicago Library.

STC (2nd ed.) / 11939. Godwin, Francis. *The succession of the bishops of England since the first planting of Christian religion in this island together with the historie of their liues and memorable actions faithfully gathered out of the monuments of antiquity. VWhereunto is prefixed a discourse concerning the first conuersion of our Britaine vnto Christian religion.* London, 1625. EEBO-TCP. Yale University Library.

STC (2nd ed.) / 12731. Catholic Church. Diocese of St. Andrews. Archbishop (1546-1571: Hamilton). *The catechisme that is to say, ane co[m]mon and catholik instructioun of the christin people in materis of our catholik faith and religioun, quhilk na gud christin man or woman suld misknaw.* St. Andrews, 1552. EEBO-TCP. British Library.

- STC (2nd ed.) / 12792.5. Harmar, John. *The [p]rompter: or [A] cleare ex[p]lication of metricall rules concerning the verbes of the Latine tongue*. London, 1625. EEBO. Balliol College (University of Oxford) Library.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 13065. Hemmingsen, Niels. *The preacher, or Methode of preachinge, vvrytten in Latine by Nich[olas] Hemminge, and translated into Englishe by I.H. Very necessarye for all those that by the true preaching of the Worde of God, labour to pull down the Synagoge of Sathair, and to buyde vp the Temple of God*. London, 1574. EEBO-TCP. Bodleian Library.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 13763. Hooper, John. *An ouersight, and deliberacion vpon the holy prophete Ionas: made, and vttered before the kynges maiestie, and his moost honorable councell, by Ihon Hoper in lent last past. Comprehended in seue[n] sermons. Anno. M.D.L.* London, 1550. EEBO-TCP. British Library.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 14333. Jacob, Henry. *A defence of a treatise touching the sufferings and victorie of Christ in the worke of our redemption Wherein in confirmed, 1 That Christ suffered for vs, not only bodily griefe, but also in his soule an impression of the proper wrath of God, which may be called the paines of Hell*. Middelburg, 1600. EEBO. Emmanuel College (University of Cambridge) Library.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 14460. James, Thomas. *A manuduction, or introduction vnto diuinitie containing a confutation of papists by papists, throughout the important articles of our religion; their testimonies taken either out of the Indices expurgatorii, or out of the Fathers, and ancient records; but especially the parchments*. London, 1625. EEBO-TCP. British Library.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 14724a.9. Jones, John. *A briefe, excellent, and profitable discourse, of the naturall beginning of all growing and liuing things, heate, generation, effects of the spirits, gouernment, vse and abuse of phisicke, preseruacion, &c. no lesse pleasant and acceptable to the students of philosophie and phisicke, then beneficiall and necessarie for all others, desirous either of knowledge, health, youth, and long life*. London, 1574. EEBO. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 15481. Leo, Africanus. *A geographical historie of Africa, written in Arabicke and Italian by Iohn Leo a More, borne in Granada, and brought vp in Barbarie. Wherein he hath at large described, not onely the qualities, situations, and true distances of the regions, cities, townes, mountaines, riuers, and other*

*places throughout all the north and principall partes of Africa; but also the descents and families of their kings ... gathered partly out of his owne diligent obseruations, and partly out of the ancient records and chronicles of the Arabians and Mores.* London, 1600. EEBO-TCP. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

STC (2nd ed.) / 17388. Markham, Gervase. *The souldiers accidence. Or an introduction into military discipline containing the first principles and necessary knowledge meete for captaines, muster-masters, and all young souldiers of the infantrie, or foote bandes. Also, the cavallarie or formes of trayning of horse-troopes, as it hath beene received from the latest and best experiences armies.* London, 1625. EEBO-TCP. British Library.

STC (2nd ed.) / 18078. More, Thomas, Sir, Saint. *The apologie of syr Thomas More knyght.* London, 1533. EEBO- TCP. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

STC (2nd ed.) / 18079. More, Thomas, Sir, Saint. *The co[n]futacyon of Tyndales answere made by syr Thomas More knyght lorde chau[n]cellour of Englonde* Answer unto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge. London, 1532. EEBO-TCP. Bodleian Library.

STC (2nd ed.) / 18081. More, Thomas, Sir, Saint. *The debellacyon of Salem and Bizance.* London, 1533. EEBO-TCP. Bodleian Library.

STC (2nd ed.) / 18084. More, Thomas, Sir, Saint. *A dyaloge of syr Thomas More knyghte.* London, 1529. EEBO-TCP. Folger Shakespeare Library.

STC (2nd ed.) / 18142. Mornay, Philippe de, seigneur du Plessis-Marly. *Fovvre bookes, of the institution, vse and doctrine of the holy sacrament of the Eucharist in the old Church As likevvise, hovv, vvhen, and by what degrees the masse is brought in, in place thereof. By my Lord Philip of Mornai, Lord of Plessis-Marli; counsellor to the King in his councill of estate, captaine of fiftie men at armes in the Kings paie, gouvernour of his towne and castle of Samur, ouerseer of his house and crowne of Nauarre.* London, 1600. EEBO. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

STC (2nd ed.) / . Nettles, Stephen. *An ansvver to the Ievvish part of Mr Selden's History of tithes. By Stephen Nettles, B. of Divinity.* Oxford, 1625. EEBO. British Library.

- STC (2nd ed.) / 19905. Anon. *Pyers plowmans exhortation, vnto the lordes, knightes and burgoyssees of the Parlyamenthouse*. London, 1550. EEBO-TCP. Bodleian Library.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 20398.7. Proclus. *The descripcion of the sphere or the frame of the worlde, right worthy to be red and studyed on, of all noble wyttes, specially of all those that be desyrours to attayne any perfecte knowledge in cosmography, or true descripcion of reagions, townes, or countrees, / set forth by Proclus Diadochus, and Englysshed by wylliam [sic] Salysbury*. London, 1550. EEBO. University of Glasgow Library.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 21563. Saint German, Christopher. *Here after foloweth a lytell treatise called the newe addicions*. London, 1531. EEBO. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 21584. Saint German, Christopher. *Salem and Bizance*. London, 1533. EEBO. Bodleian Library.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 21585. Saint German, Christopher. *The addicions of Salem and Byzance*. London, 1534. EEBO. Bodleian Library.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 22790a. Smith, John. *The generall historie of Virginia, Nevv-England, and the Summer Iles with the names of the adventurers, planters, and governours, from their first beginning, an0 1584. to this present 1625. VVith the proceedings of those severall colonies, and the accidents that befell them in all their iourneyes and discoveries. Also, the maps and descriptions of all those countries, their commodities, people, government, customes, and religion yet knowne*. London, 1625. EEBO. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 22819. Smith, Richard. *A confutation of a certen booke, called a defence of the true, and Catholike doctrine of the sacrame[n]t, &c. sette fourth of late in the name of Thomas Archebyssshoppe of Canterburie. By Rycharde Smyth, Docter of diuinite, and some tyme reader of the same in Oxforde*. Paris, 1550. EEBO. British Library.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 23913. Terry, John. *The triall of truth Containing a plaine and short discovery of the chieftest pointes of the doctrine of the great Antichrist, and of his adherentes the false teachers and heretikes of these last times*. Oxford, 1600. EEBO. Folger Shakespeare Library.
- STC (2nd ed.) / 24056. Thucydides. *The hystory writtone by Thucidides the Athenyan of the warre, whiche was betwene the Peloponesians and the Athenyans*,

*translated oute of Frenche into the Englysh language by Thomas Nicolls citezeine and goldesmyth of London.* London, 1550. EEBO-TCP. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

STC (2nd ed.) / 24324. Turberville, George. *The booke of faulconrie or hauking for the onely delight and pleasure of all noblemen and gentlemen: collected out of the best aucthors, asvvell Italians as Frenchmen, and some English practises withall concernyng faulconrie, the contentes whereof are to be seene in the next page folowyng.* London, 1575. EEBO-TCP. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

STC (2nd ed.) / 24527. Ursinus, Zacharias. *A collection of certaine learned discourses, written by that famous man of memory Zachary Ursine; doctor and professor of divinitie in the noble and flourishing schools of Neustad. For explication of divers difficult points, laide downe by that author in his catechisme. Lately put in print in Latin by the last labour of D. David Parry: and now newlie translated into English, by I.H. for the benefit and behoofe of our Christian country-man.* Oxford, 1600. EEBO-TCP. Bodleian Library.

STC (2nd ed.) / 24886. Hooker, John. *The discription of the cittie of Excester, collected and gathered by Iohn Vowel alias Hooker, gentelman and chamberlain of the same cittie.* London, 1575. EEBO-TCP. Cambridge University Library.

STC (2nd ed.) / 25442. Whittingham, William. *A brieffe discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554 Abowte the booke off off [sic] common prayer and ceremonies, and continued by the Englishe men theyre/ to thende off Q. Maries raigne, in the which discours, the gentle reader shall see the very originall and beginninge off all the contention that hath byn, and what was the cause off the same.* Heidelberg, 1574. EEBO-TCP. Bodleian Library.

STC (2nd ed.) / 26143. Zwingli, Ulrich. *The ymage of both pastoures, sette forth by that mooste famouse clerck, Huldrych zwinglius. a[nd] now translated out of Latin into Englishe. By John Veron Sinonoyes. A most fruitfull a[nd] necessary boke, to be had a[nd] redde in all churches, ther wyth to enarme all symple [and] ignorant folkes, agaynst the raueninge wolues and false prophetes.* London, 1550. EEBO. Union Theological Seminary (New York, N. Y.) Library.

Wing / A3147. Andrews, Lancelot. *The pattern of catechistical doctrine at large, or, A learned and pious exposition of the Ten Commandments with an introduction, containing the use and benefit of catechizing, the generall grounds of religion,*

*and the truth of Christian religion in particular, proved against atheists, pagans, Jews, and Turks / by the Right Reverend Father in God Lancelot Andrews.* London, 1650. EEBO-TCP. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

Wing / A483. Adams, John. *An essay concerning self-murther wherein is endeavour'd to prove that it is unlawful according to natural principles : with some considerations upon what is pretended from the said principles, by the author of a treatise intituled, Biathanatos, and others.* London, 1700. EEBO-TCP. Union Theological Seminary (New York, N. Y.) Library.

Wing / B3358. Anon. *A Blow at the root, or, Some observations towards a discovery of the subtilties and devices of Satan, practised against the church aud [sic] truth of Christ as in all ages, so in these times especially.* London, 1650. EEBO. Yale University Library.

Wing / B6149. Burthogge, Richard. *Cavsa dei, or, An apology for God wherein the perpetuity of infernal torments is evidenced and divine both goodness and justice, that notwithstanding, defended.* London, 1675. EEBO-TCP. Union Theological Seminary (New York, N. Y.) Library.

Wing / B726A. Barclay, Robert. *A catechism and confession of faith approved of and agreed unto by the general assembly of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, Christ himself chief speaker, in and among them.* London, 1675. EEBO. Lambeth Palace Library.

Wing (2nd ed.) / C494. Cardell, John. *Morbus epidemicus: or, the danger of self-seeking; discovered in a sermon preached before the right honorable, the Lord Major of the city of London, at Mercers-Chappel, Novemb. 18. 1649. By John Cardell.* London, 1650. EEBO. British Library.

Wing / C5399. Colman, Benjamin. *Gospel order revived being an answer to a book lately set forth by ... Increase Mather ... entitled, The order of the gospel, &c.* New York, 1700. EEBO-TCP. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

Wing / C6380A. Cotton, Charles. *Burlesque upon burlesque, or, The scoffer scoft being some of Lucians dialogues, newly put into English fustian for the consolation of those who had rather laugh and be merry, then be merry and wise.* London, 1675. EEBO-TCP. Yale University Library.

Wing / D471. Day, Robert. *Free thoughts in defence of a future state, as discoverable by natural reason, and stript of all superstitious appendages ... with occasional remarks on a book intituled, An inquiry concerning virtue, and a refutation of*



*the reviv'd Hylozoicism of Democritus and Leucippus.* London, 1700. EEBO.  
Union Theological Seminary (New York, N. Y.) Library.

Wing (2nd ed.) / F570. Feake, Christopher. *The genealogie of Christianity and of Christians. Declared in a sermon at Mercers Chappel before the Right Honourable the Lord Maior of the City of London, April 28. 1650 and now thus published for the undeceiving of those, who say they are Christians, and are not, but do lie.* London, 1650. EEBO. British Library.

Wing / H169. Hacket, John. *A century of sermons upon several remarkable subjects preached by the Right Reverend Father in God, John Hacket, late Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.* London, 1675. EEBO-TCP. British Library.

Wing / H2452. Holles, Denzil Holles, Baron. *The case stated concerning the judicature of the House of Peers in the point of appeals.* London, 1675. EEBO-TCP. Bodleian Library.

Wing / H3215. Hubbert, Thomas. *Pilula ad expurgandam hypocrisin A pill to purge formality : wherein is discovered the sad and woful condition of all formal professors in religion : also the glory and excellency of those that walk in the power of godliness.* London, 1650. EEBO. British Library.

Wing (2nd ed.) / H410. Hall, Joseph. *The Revelation unrevealed concerning the thousand-yeares reigne of the saints with Christ upon earth. Laying forth the weak grounds, and strange consequences of that plausible, and too-much received opinion. By an unfained lover of truth, peace, order, and just moderation.* London, 1650. EEBO. British Library.

Wing / J698. Jessey, Henry. *A storehouse of provision to further resolution in severall cases of conscience, and questions now in dispute ... about living above ordinances ... about generall redemption ... about separation ... about communion with unbaptized, about joyning in prayer, baptisme of a Jew.* London, 1650. EEBO. Union Theological Seminary (New York, N. Y.) Library.

Wing (2nd ed.) / K194. Keith, George. *Quakerism no popery, or, A particular answere to that part of Iohn Menzeis, professor of divinity in Aberdeen, (as he is called) his book, intituled Roma mendax Wherein the people called Quakers are concerned, whom he doth accuse as holding many popish doctrins, and as if Quakerism, (so he nick-names our religion,) were but popery-disguised.* London, 1675. EEBO-TCP. Harvard University Library.

Wing / L2742. Locke, John. *An essay concerning humane understanding in four books*. London, 1700. EEBO. Bodleian Library.

Wing (2nd ed.) / L3078A. Lortie, André. *The scripture-terms of church-union, with respect to the doctrin of the trinity confirmed by the unitarian explications of the beginning of St. John's Gospel; together with the Answers of the Unitarians; to the chief objections made against them: whereby it appears, that men may be unitarians, and sincere and inquisitive, and that they ought not to be excluded out of the church-communion*. London, 1700. EEBO. Lambeth Palace Library.

Wing / L986. Leigh, Edward. *Annotations upon all the New Testament philologicall and theologicall wherein the emphasis and elegancie of the Greeke is observed, some imperfections in our translation are discovered, divers Jewish rites and customes tending to illustrate the text are mentioned, many antilogies and seeming contradictions reconciled, severall darke and obscure places opened, sundry passages vindicated from the false glosses of papists and hereticks*. London, 1650. EEBO-TCP. Union Theological Seminary (New York, N. Y.) Library.

Wing (2nd ed.) / M1482. Mayne, John. *Arithmetick vulgar, decimal, & algebraical. In a most plain and facile method for common capacities. Together with a treatise of simple and compound interest and rebate; with two tables for the calculation of the value of leases and annuities, payable quarterly; the one for simple, the other for compound interest, at 6. per cent. per annum; with rules for making the like for any other rate. To which is added a new, and most practical way of gauging of tunns. As also the art of cask-gauging, for the use of His Majesties Officers of the Excise*. London, 1675. EEBO-TCP. British Library.

Wing (2nd ed.) / O783. Owen, John. *Of the death of Christ, the price he paid, and the purchase he made. Or, the satisfaction, and merit of the death of Christ cleered, the universality of redemption thereby oppugned: and the doctrine concerning these things formerly delivered in a treatise against universal redemption vindicated from the exceptions, and objections of Mr Baxter*. London, 1650. EEBO-TCP. British Library.

Wing / P1168. Penington, Isaac. *The flesh & blood of Christ, both in the mystery and in the outward briefly, plainly, and uprightly acknowledged and testified to, for the satisfaction and benefit of the tender-hearted, who desire to experience the quickning, healing, and cleansing vertue of it : with A brief account concerning*

*the people called Quakers in reference both to principle and doctrine.* London, 1675. EEBO-TCP. Union Theological Seminary (New York, N. Y.) Library.

Wing / P2025. Philips, Ambrose. *The life of John Williams, Ld. Keeper of the Great Seal, Bp. of Lincoln, and Abp. of York in the reigns of King James and King Charles the First wherein are related several remarkable occurrences of those times both in church and state.* Cambridge, 1700. EEBO-TCP. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

Wing / P3076. Powell, Thomas. *The young mans conflict with, and victory over the Devil by faith, or, A true and perfect relation of the experiences of T.P., begun in the 15th and continued till the 17th year of his age.* London, 1675. EEBO-TCP. British Library.

Wing (2nd ed.) / P4311. Pynchon, William. *The meritorious price of our redemption, iustification, &c. Cleering it from some common errors.* London, 1650. EEBO. British Library.

Wing / P473A. Parker, Samuel. *Six philosophical essays upon several subjects.* London, 1700. EEBO-TCP. University of Illinois.

Wing / P771. Patrick, Simon. *A commentary upon the Fifth book of Moses, called Deuteronomy.* London, 1700. EEBO. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

Wing (2nd ed.) / S3005. Sharp, John, of Froome, Somersetshire. *ruth prevailing against the fiercest opposition being a vindication of Dr. Russel's True narrative of the Portsmouth disputation.* London, 1700. EEBO-TCP. William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.

Wing (2nd ed.) / S3255A. Sherlock, Richard. *The second part of The practical Christian consisting of meditations, and Psalms illustrated with notes, or paraphrases; relating to the hours of prayer, the ordinary actions of day and night, and several dispositions of men. By R. Sherlock, D.D. Rector of Winwick.* London, 1675. EEBO. Bodleian Library.

Wing (2nd ed.) / S5233A. Stanhope, George. *Sermons preach'd upon several occasions. By George Stanhope, D.D. chaplain in ordinary to His Majesty. Never before published.* London, 1700. EEBO. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

## Appendix 2: Finnish Summary

### Errors and Corrections: Early Modern English Errata Lists in 1529–1700 and Their Connection to Prescriptivism

Tämä tutkielma käsittelee uuden ajan alun (n. 1500–1700) errata-listoja ja niiden yhteyttä preskriptivismiin. Tutkielman tarkoituksena on tarkastella uuden ajan alun englanninkielisten errata-listojen ominaispiirteitä, sillä tähän mennessä niitä ei ole tutkittu systemaattisesti. Toisena tavoitteena tutkielmassa on myös arvioida, voiko preskriptivismin käsitettä liittää errata-listoihin.

#### Tutkimuksen taustaa

Tässä tutkielmassa errata-listat (*errata list*) viittaavat painettujen dokumenttien oikaisuluetteloihin, eli listoihin painovirheistä ja niiden korjauksista. Modernissa paino- ja julkaisukulttuurissa errata-listoja käytetään harvoin, sillä niille ei ole yleensä tarvetta: pienet painovirheet korjataan seuraaviin painoksiin, kun taas lisäykset ja uudistukset toteutetaan teoksen seuraavissa laitoksissa. Uuden ajan alussa errata-listat olivat kuitenkin yleinen tapa korjata kirjan painamisen jälkeen huomattuja virheitä. Kirjojen painaminen oli kallis ja aikaa vievä prosessi, joten errata-listat olivat helppoutensa vuoksi yksi yleisimmistä tavoista korjata painovirheitä kirjan valmistuttua. Muita tapoja olivat esimerkiksi virheen sisältämän sivun leikkaaminen pois ja sen korvaaminen toisella sekä korjausten liittäminen erillisellä paperinpalalla tekstin päälle.

Errata-listat otettiin käyttöön jo 1400-luvun loppupuolella erityisesti Italiassa, mutta englanninkielisissä kirjoissa errata-listat yleistyivät vasta 1500-luvun lopulla. Ensimmäiset englanninkieliset listat löytyvät Thomas Moren teksteistä 1520- ja 1530-luvuilta. Uuden ajan alun errata-listoilla korjattiin enimmäkseen pieniä painovirheitä kuten vääriä kirjaimia, mutta toisinaan ne sisälsivät myös suurempia korjauksia esimerkiksi sanan tai tekstin kirjoitusasuun tai kirjasintyyppiin.

Blair (2007) on luokitellut errata-listoja kahdentyypisiin oikaisuluetteloihin: tyhjentäviin (*exhaustive*) ja yleisiin pahoitteluihin (*general apology*). Tyhjentävät errata-listat luettelivat nimensä mukaisesti paljon virheitä. Nämä listat sisälsivät kaikenlaisia virheitä, mutta enimmäkseen pieniä painovirheitä.

Yleisillä pahoitteluilla Blair viittaa teoksen virheitä pahoittelevaan tekstiin, jonka mukana saattoi olla lyhyt lista merkittävimmistä virheistä. Blairin luokittelu on tämän tutkielman kannalta oleellinen, sillä tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan tutkielman aineiston yhteensopivuutta Blairin luokitteluun.

Errata-listat olivat tärkeä osa lukemista ja kirjan muotoutumista. Uuden ajan alun kirja ei ollut kokonaisuutena samanlainen kuin nykykirja, vaan teksti jatkoi eloaan lukijoiden korjatessa errata-listojen luettelemia virheitä omiin kopioihinsa. Täten errata-listat ohjasivat lukemista niin kuin muutkin kirjan paratekstit, kuten nimiösivu tai sisällysluettelo. Perusteita errata-listojen sisällyttämiselle saattoi löytyä kirjoittajien ja painajien halusta virheettömyyteen tai lukijoiden tyytymättömyydestä virheitä sisältäviin teoksiin. Maine oli tärkeää niille kirjoittajille, jotka halusivat säilyttää kuvan oppineisuudestaan, kuten myös painajille, jotka halusivat saavuttaa tai säilyttää hyvän maineen tekstiensä virheettömyydellä.

Errata-listojen lisäksi keskeinen käsite tässä tutkielmassa on kielellinen preskriptivismi, jolla viitataan ajatukseen siitä, että jotakin voi ja pitää sanoa tai kirjoittaa ”oikealla” tavalla. Kielellinen preskriptivismi voi olla yhteydessä moniin kielen osa-alueisiin, kuten oikeinkirjoitukseen, ääntämiseen ja kielioppiin. *Preskriptiivisyys* liittyy erilaisten kielimuotojen käytön määräämiseen tai kieltämiseen, kun taas *deskriptiivisyyden* tarkoitus on olla tuomitsematta ja ainoastaan kuvailla kielen käyttöä. Preskriptiivisyys ja deskriptiivisyys ovat abstrakteja käsitteitä, jotka todellisuudessa ovat saavuttamattomia. Usein nämä käsitteet liittyvät kielioppikirjoihin, jotka voivat olla joko preskriptiivisiä tai deskriptiivisiä. Käytännössä kielioppikirjat eivät ole puhtaasti jompaakumpaa, vaan sisältävät usein elementtejä myös toisesta.

Preskriptivismin käsite liitetään usein 1700- ja 1800-lukuihin, jolloin preskriptiiviset kielioppi- ja sanakirjat yleistyivät. Näiden teosten yleistyminen juontaa juurensa keskiluokkaisten ihmisten määrän nousuun. Tämä nouseva keskiluokka haki sosiaalista hyväksyntää ja statusta parantamalla kielenkäyttöään. 1700-luku on ollut tärkeä ajanjakso englannin kielen standardisaation kannalta, ja preskriptivismi on ollut tiiviisti yhteydessä standardisaatioon kielen sääntöjä ja käytäntöjä kirjanneiden kielioppi- ja sanakirjojen kautta.

## **Tutkittavat ilmiöt**

Koska errata-listojen tutkimus on ollut vähäistä, tässä tutkielmassa tarkoituksena oli kartoittaa uuden ajan alun englanninkielisten errata-listojen ominaispiirteitä. Errata-listoista tutkittavat piirteet olivat:

- 1) errata-listan sisältävien kirjojen tyypit
- 2) errata-listojen sijainti kirjoissa
- 3) errata-listojen otsikointi
- 4) errata-listojen muotoilu ja virheiden sekä korjausten esittely
- 5) errata-listojen esittämien virheiden keskimääräinen tiheys kirjoissa
- 6) errata-listoissa esiintyvien virheiden tyypit
- 7) errata-listoissa esiintyvien preskriptiivisten korjausten tyypit.

Yllä mainitut seitsemän näkökulmaa liittyvät errata-listojen ulkoasuun ja sisältöön sekä listoja sisältävien kirjojen ja itse listojen välisiin suhteisiin. Viimeinen kohta liittyy errata-listojen ja preskriptivismin yhteyteen ja pyrkii selvittämään yksittäisiä virheitä ja niiden korjauksia tarkastelemalla, voiko errata-listojen sanoa ilmentävän preskriptivismiä. Errata-listat ovat keino korjata jotakin vääräksi tai huonoksi nähtyä ja ne liittyvät läheisesti kielen standardisaatioon ja normatiivisiin näkemyksiin kielestä, jotka olivat ajankohtaisia uuden ajan alussa. Tutkittaviin piirteisiin liittyy myös ajallinen näkökulma, eli millaisia muutoksia piirteissä on mahdollisesti tapahtunut.

## **Materiaali ja tutkimusmenetelmät**

Materiaali tähän tutkimukseen on kerätty *Early English Books Online* -tietokannasta (EEBO). EEBO on kaupallinen verkkotietokanta, johon on koottu varhaisia teoksia vuosilta 1473–1700. Kokoelma sisältää yli 130 000 teosta yli 30 kielellä painettuna. Tietokantaan on kerätty englanninkielisillä alueilla painettuja teoksia sekä muualla painettuja englanninkielisiä teoksia digitoituina näköispainoksina. EEBO:n kokoelma perustuu Eugene Powerin keräämään mikrofilmikokoelmaan varhaisista painetuista kirjoista, jotka on siirretty EEBO:n kokoelmiin digitaalisina kuvina.

Jokaiselle teokselle EEBO:ssa on annettu kyseisen kirjan bibliografisen kuvaus, johon sisältyy tietoa esimerkiksi teoksen nimestä, kirjoittajasta, julkaisuajankohdasta ja sivumäärästä. Kokoelman teokset on esitetty tavallisen kirjan tapaan yksi aukeama kerrallaan mustavalkokuvina. Tietokannan digitaalisista kuvista ei voi itsessään hakea tietoa, mutta EEBO tekee yhteistyötä Michiganin yliopiston kanssa, joka on luonut teoksista kokotekstiversioita. Yli 40 000 tekstidokumenttia on indeksoitu EEBO:on ja on näin ollen luettavissa ja haettavissa tekstinä.

EEBO:sta kerätty materiaali koostuu kokonaisuudessaan 80 errata-listan sisältävästä teoksesta vuosilta 1529–1700. Aikavertailun vuoksi kymmenen errata-listaa kerättiin kahdeksalta ajanjaksolta: 1529–35, 1550–52, 1574–75, 1600, 1625, 1650, 1675 ja 1700. Ajanjaksojen valinta perustuu errata-listojen ilmaantumisaikakohtaan 1500-luvun alussa ja EEBO:n kattavuuteen, joka ulottuu virallisesti vuoteen 1700. Materiaalin keräämiseen on käytetty EEBO:n hakutoimintoa, joka mahdollistaa hakutermin löytämisen mahdollisesta kokotekstistä ja kirjan bibliografisista tiedoista. Hakutermeinä tässä tutkimuksessa on käytetty termejä ”errata” ja ”faults escaped” ja näiden vaihtoehtoisia kirjoitusmuotoja. Termien valinta perustuu errata-listojen otsikointiin uuden ajan alussa. Jos teoksesta oli saatavilla kokotekstiversio, hakutulokset osuivat errata-listan otsikkoon, mutta jos tekstiversiota ei ollut saatavilla, hakutulokset osuivat bibliografisissa tiedoissa olevaan mainintaan kirjan sisältämästä errata-listasta.

Teokset ovat keskenään hyvin erilaisia, ja niiden aihepiirit vaihtelevat uskonnollisista filosofisiin ja historiallisiin teksteihin. Kirjojen laajuudet ovat hyvin vaihtelevia lyhimmän teoksen sisältäessä vain 24 sivua ja pisimmän 1180. Pääasiallisena materiaalina käytetyt errata-listatkin olivat ulkoasultaan ja sisällöltään vaihtelevia. Pisimmässä errata-listassa virheitä on lueteltu kymmenen sivun verran, kun taas lyhimmat koostuvat vain muutaman virheen luettelosta.

Koska tämän tutkielman tarkoitus on tutkia errata-listojen piirteitä, joita ei ennen ole tutkittu, on tutkimus toteutettu pääasiassa kvalitatiivisena lähilukuna. Piirteiden muuttuminen ajan kuluessa oli myös osa tutkimuksen tarkoitusta, ja tämän näkökannan selvittämisessä avuksi otettiin kvantitatiivisempia menetelmiä.

## **Tulokset**

### **Errata-listan sisältävät kirjat**

Teosten aihealueiden tarkastelussa hyödynnettiin Bennettin (1952; 1965; 1970) luokittelua uuden ajan alun kirjojen tyypeistä. Teokset luokiteltiin kymmeneen eri luokkaan aihealueensa perusteella. Tuloksista ilmeni, että kokonaismäärästä suurin osa teoksista oli uskonnollisia kirjoja, joita oli myös eniten kaikkina kahdeksana ajanjaksona. Muita aihealueita käsitteleviä kirjoja oli vain muutamia kutakin. Errata-listojen ja kirjojen aihealueiden välillä ei tämän tutkimuksen perusteella näytä olen suoraan yhteyttä. Vaikka suurin osa errata-listan sisältävistä kirjoista oli uskonnollisia, ei tästä voida vielä päätellä, että uskonnollinen aihe kirjoissa erityisesti olisi ollut syy liittää teokseen errata-lista, sillä suurin osa ajan kirjallisuudesta oli uskonnollista.

### **Errata-listojen sijainti**

Errata-listat sijoittuivat joko teoksen esiöön (*front matter*) tai lopputeksteihin (*back matter*), eli ennen tai jälkeen varsinaisen tekstisisällön. Esiön ja lopputekstien sisällä errata-listojen sijainti vaihteli. Lopputekstit olivat yleisempi sijoituspaikka errata-listoille kaikkina ajanjaksoina paitsi vuonna 1700, jolloin suurin osa errata-listoista sijaitsi kirjan etuosassa. Aiempi tutkimuskirjallisuus liittää useimmiten errata-listat kirjan lopputeksteihin, ja errata-listoja on myös pidetty kirjan loppuun liittyvinä parateksteinä. Tässä tutkimuksessa kuitenkin kolmasosa errata-listoista sijoittui kirjan esiöön, joten tämän tutkimuksen perusteella errata-listojen ei voida sanoa kuuluvan vain kirjan loppua ilmaisevien paratekstien joukkoon.

### **Errata-listojen otsikointi**

Errata-listat voitiin jakaa otsikoiden perusteella kahteen eri ryhmään, joita olivat *Errata* ja *Faults escaped*. Puolet listoista kuului ensimmäiseen ryhmään, kun taas kolmasosa kuului jälkimmäiseen ryhmään. Lopuissa errata-listoissa ei ollut otsikkoa lainkaan, tai ne eivät muuten sopineet edellä mainittuihin ryhmiin. Tutkimuksen aineiston perusteella *Faults escaped* -otsikko oli yleisempi vuosien 1529 ja 1600 välillä, jolloin enemmistö errata-listoista oli otsikoitu näin. Vuoden 1625 jälkeen *Faults escaped* -otsikkoa ei enää esiinny aineistossa lainkaan, vaan suurin osa listoista on *Errata*-otsikon alla.



### **Errata-listojen muotoilu ja virheiden sekä korjausten esittely**

Errata-listat voitiin jakaa ulkoasunsa ja muotoilunsa perusteella vaakasuuntaisiin ja pystysuuntaisiin listoihin sekä taulukkoihin. Vaakasuuntaisia taulukoita, joissa virheet ja niiden korjaukset on listattu peräkkäin, oli aineistossa sekä useimpina ajanjaksoina että kokonaisuudessaan eniten. Pystysuuntaisia listoja, joissa virheet ja korjaukset on listattu jokainen omalle rivilleen, oli aineistossa vähiten. Taulukkomuotoisissa errata-listoissa virheet ja korjaukset on muotoiltu riveittäin ja sarakkeittain. Pystysuuntaisia ja taulukkomuotoisia listoja esiintyi eniten aineiston ensimmäisinä ajanjaksoina vuoteen 1600 asti, jonka jälkeen pystysuuntaiset listat katoavat ja taulukkomuotoisetkin listat harvenevat huomattavasti.

### **Errata-listojen esittämien virheiden keskimääräinen tiheys kirjoissa**

Virheiden keskimääräinen tiheys kirjassa laskettiin jakamalla errata-listan luettelemien virheiden määrä kirjan sivumäärällä, jolloin tuloksena oli keskimääräinen virheluku sivua kohti. Listattujen virheiden tiheys vaihteli 0,01:stä 1,07:ään virheeseen sivua kohti. Enemmistössä kirjoista virheitä oli keskimäärin 0–0,19 sivua kohti. Virhemäärien laskeminen on yhteydessä Blairin (2007) luokitteluun, jossa errata-listat jaetaan tyhjentäviin listoihin ja yleisiin pahoitteluihin. Tutkimuksesta kävi ilmi, että aineisto ei vastannut Blairin luokittelua, joten tässä tutkielmassa on kehitetty aineiston jaotteluun soveltuvampi malli.

### **Errata-listoissa esiintyvät virheet**

Listoissa esiintyviä virheitä luokiteltiin neljään eri luokkaan sen mukaan, oliko sanassa puuttuva (*omission*) tai ylimääräinen kirjain (*addition*), oliko sanan jokin kirjain korvattu toisella (*substitution*) tai olivatko vierekkäiset kirjaimet sanassa vaihtaneet paikkaa (*transposition*). Yllä mainittujen sanan sisällä esiintyvien muutosten lisäksi virheitä löytyi myös sana- ja lauseketasolla. Errata-listoista löytyi myös virheitä, jotka eivät sopineet näihin luokkiin, kuten korjauksia kirjasintyyppiin.

### **Preskriptiivisyys errata-listoissa**

Virheiden tyypittelyn lisäksi errata-listoista tutkittiin preskriptiivisyyttä mahdollisesti osoittavia korjauksia. Aineistosta löytyi kahdentyypisiä virheitä, joiden korjausten voisi sanoa olevan preskriptiivisiä: korjaukset ortografiaan, kuten oikeinkirjoitukseen ja välimerkkien käyttöön, ja kielioppiin, kuten prepositioihin ja verbimuotoihin.

Preskriptiivisten virheiden tarkastelu tuki ajatusta errata-listojen ja preskriptiivisyyden yhteydestä. Uuden ajan alun errata-listoja tekivät aina yksilöt, joiden kielelliset tavat ja mieltymykset vaikuttivat siihen, mitkä sanat tai merkinnät olivat tulkittavissa virheiksi ja sisällytettävissä errata-listaan. Virheellisinä pidetyt sanat ja muodot myös vaihtuivat ajan myötä. Esimerkiksi välimerkkien käyttö uuden ajan alussa vaihteli huomattavasti, ja sen vuoksi myös niiden käyttöä koskevat preskriptiiviset säännöt olivat vaihtelevia.

Kielenkäyttö on sosiaalista toimintaa, ja eri tavat käyttää kieltä luovat eroja kielen käyttäjien välille. Errata-listojen avulla kirjojen kirjoittajat ja painajat kykenivät säilyttämään maineensa ja välttämään sosiaalista arvostelua huonosta kielenkäytöstä. Tämä maineensääilytys tapahtui kiinnittämällä huomio virhekohtiin ja osoittamalla, että errata-listan tekijä tiedostaa niiden olemassaolon. Virheiden korjaamisen ja havaitsemisen sosiaalinen ulottuvuus korostaa yhdenlaisen, oikeaksi koetun kielenkäytön, omaksumista ja käyttöä. Koska errata-listat ovat tapoja korjata virheitä, on niillä yhteys normatiivisiin ajatuksiin kielen käytöstä, ja täten errata-listojen yhden tarkoituksen voidaan sanoa olevan samanlainen kuin muissa preskriptiivisissä teoksissa, jotka haluavat edistää tietynlaista kielenkäyttöä.